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ABSTRACT

This study examines the relationship between the organizational structure of multi-unit community college districts and the performance of urban campuses in serving disadvantaged students. Emphasis is on the expanding functions and changing structure of urban community colleges, the relationship between district office and district colleges, and problems and constraints involved in programing for "new" community college students. Several comprehensive exemplary special programs are discussed in a special chapter. Four key problems found were: (1) the great concern about the possibilities of urban campuses "going black"; (2) the lack of awareness shown by faculty regarding the daily problems and circumstances of life in the ghetto; (3) budgeting models which are not particularly relevant to urban educational programs; and (4) conflict which arises over such matters as basic assumptions and directions, staff recruitment and promotions, assignments, authority relations, and office location. Recommendations were: (1) district offices will be most effective if they act as a coordinating body rather than a governing one; (2) inner-city campuses will be more successful if they have a clearly delimited definition of institutional mission and role and carefully preplanned programs; (3) faculty, to be effective, must be sensitive, knowledgeable and adaptable; (4) community support is needed; and (5) additional sources of money are vitally important. (Author/RN)

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Urban Multi-Unit Community Colleges:

Adaptation for the '70s

ERNEST G. PALOLA
ARTHUR R. OSWALD

JC 720 249

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CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY
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The respective chancellors or presidents of the study districts chosen were asked to serve on a national advisory committee to the project. The authors wish to express their thanks to these persons: Charles Chapman, Cuyahoga Community College District, Cleveland; Joseph Cosand, Junior College District of St. Louis; John Dunn, Peralta Community College District, California; Peter Masiko, Miami-Dade Junior College District, Florida; William Priest, Dallas County Junior College District; and Oscar Shabat, City Colleges of Chicago. Without the guidance of these men and the cooperation of their staffs, including the many significant documents they made available, this study could not have been made. Some 200 interviews were conducted and we thank each person for the time contributed. Dean C. Patrick Carter, Diablo Valley College, California, helped with the interviewing in Chicago and Miami.

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Introduction

Characteristic of complex social organisms is the interplay, and often clash, of competing ideologies and special interests. Complexity is an inevitable condition when large numbers of people concentrate in geophysical areas to perform tasks related to survival and the progressive growth and improvement of collective and individual lives. Complexity, however, inevitably nurtures frustration, a sense that great energies are expended toward worthwhile aims, but that actual accomplishments fall short of the mark.

Probably no other social environment better illustrates this phenomenon than major American cities. Competing themes pervade all levels and compartments of urban life, urban business, and urban politics, and the attendant frustration is stifling. The critical urban problems of social welfare, unemployment, and education are cases in point. Given the surpluses of many goods and services, growing numbers of people regard living on welfare payments as an acceptable way of life. According to this view, the welfare process basically "cools down" the technological pace of society. Such a position elicits strong criticism and open opposition by persons who hold to the Protestant ethic ideology. Members of both camps feel the enmity and frustration generated by the clash of their differing points of view.

Closely linked to the issue of welfare is that of urban unemployment. As unemployment rates rise, the costs of unemployment compensation and social welfare rise. And again, different positions are taken on the significance of unemployment in highly industrialized societies. There are some who see increased unemployment as a symptom of social pathology, while others view it as a natural outcome of improving technological capacities, which progressively require fewer and fewer persons to accomplish society's labors.

Today, the familiar themes of competition and frustration persist at all levels of urban education. Of particular interest here is the urban (and primarily inner-city) community college, which gives prime attention to ghetto youth and major inner-city problems. Against the urban community college's mission and role is set the relatively new, and only partially tested, organizational structure of multi-unit districts, within which urban community colleges are increasingly likely to function. The development of multi-unit districts can be regarded as a response to factors related to economy (a broad base for soliciting public taxes and private monies); efficiency (the amount of resources used to produce a unit of output); and political pragmatism (the accommodation of important vested interests both within and outside multi-unit districts).

It is the playing out of these two themes against one another—the special mission and role of urban community colleges and the emergence of the multi-unit district structure—that prompted researchers at the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education to seek to determine their compatibility. If great amounts of conflict do exist between the basic directions of multi-unit district structures and those of urban community colleges, then this will serve as a major source of frustration and an ultimate barrier to the educational effectiveness of these institutions.

THE STUDY

This study is an examination of the relationship between the organizational structure of multi-unit community college districts and the performance of urban campuses in serving disadvantaged students.

A somewhat special role for the urban community college as

it relates to ghetto communities is proposed: It may well be that traditional institutional comprehensiveness will have to give way in the urban setting to campuses with primary foci and districtwide comprehensiveness.

The multi-unit district organizational setting was examined for its bearing on the effectiveness of its inner-city campus: It is possible that multi-unit district structures will undergo important changes to reflect at least the unique missions and role of the inner-city campus.

A wide variety of programs and services for urban disadvantaged students were examined for their effectiveness in resolving pressing urban education needs: The frustrations experienced in designing and implementing appropriate developmental education activities were found to be numerous and sometimes overpowering.

A few programs were highlighted because of their apparent success in effectively reaching the educational needs of low-income and educationally unprepared students: These educational efforts found ways to break through traditional bureaucratic rigidities and other constraining environmental circumstances.

Research findings and expert opinion lead to the following outlook about the feature of postsecondary education in major metropolitan areas: Significant progress toward "*equal educational opportunity for all, regardless of need*" will very likely be made to the extent that key individuals and agencies will be fully committed to developmental education, willing to finance this type of education adequately, and able to share in the control of inner-city colleges, including the programs offered, personnel hired, and evaluations made. Today, however, lack of committment, inadequate financing, and overly centralized control are the key barriers to effective education for inner-city students.

METHODOLOGY

Selection of the Districts

A brief survey was made of selected characteristics of all multi-unit community colleges in the United States. Of the some 50

multi-unit districts identified, approximately 12 had at least one campus in a major metropolitan center. Comparisons of these metropolitan districts were made in terms of age of the district, number, size and location of academic units (campuses), type of district organization structure, size and composition of district staff, national geographic locations, and other important sources of differences.

An initial sample of ten multi-unit districts was chosen and a national advisory committee for the study was convened to examine the overall characteristics of the proposed study. Although the study committee strongly recommended that all ten districts be studied, staff and budgetary limitations dictated that only six of these districts be included: The City Colleges of Chicago, Illinois; Cuyahoga Community College District, Cleveland, Ohio; Dallas County Community College District, Texas; Miami-Dade Junior College District, Florida; Peralta Community College District, Oakland, California; and The Junior College District of St. Louis, Missouri.

The selected districts which represented most of the geographical areas of the nation met the following criteria: They were multi-unit (two or more separate campuses or instructional units), in a major city with at least one campus or instructional unit located in a ghetto, and with a single governing board and central office.

Preparation of District Reports

Letters were written to key persons and agencies of the districts, seeking cooperation and background information. Numerous published and unpublished documents were collected and analyzed, and the research staff met in seminars to discuss various aspects of administrative structure and programming for low-income students in each district. A report was then written on each study district, giving a general picture of community college education in that district, a historical sketch of its development and evolution, an analysis of key district documents, and the current issues involved in its district structure and special services to low-income students.

The Interviewees

Over 200 interviews were conducted in the six districts with trustees, district staff members, campus administrators, program

coordinators or directors and their staffs, and students. In the investigation of district organization and administration, special efforts were made to work with persons closely aware of budgetary matters, educational programming, personnel policies, and centrally provided services such as data processing, purchasing, and student admissions. On the campuses, interviews were held particularly with administrators, faculty, and students associated with various campuswide efforts to serve the educational and related financial needs of ghetto youth.

Individual interviews were usually one to two hours, although some were for substantially longer periods. No recordings were made; notes were taken and the full record of each interview written up as soon as possible.

Data Analysis

Interview materials were examined in three ways: to determine what, if any, special attention was being given by urban campuses to the needs of disadvantaged students; to analyze interview statements and documentary information about the processes and structure of district organization, with special attention to the unique organizational needs of ghetto campuses in districts with other non-urban campuses, through the combined documentary, interview, and observational data; and to assess the internal features and bases of success for selected programs.

1

The Expanding Functions of Urban Community Colleges

THE PREVAILING MISSION AND ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

A past director of the nation's largest multi-unit community college district has observed that, ". . . from 1900 to 1960 the public junior college flourished primarily in smaller urban centers. . . .But in recent years . . . it has grown rapidly in big cities, even those already served by four-year colleges and universities (Erickson, 1964)." Gleazer (1968) also has pointed out that today, many of the largest American cities have developing multi-unit districts. Erickson (1964) saw five important reasons for the growth of urban multi-unit colleges: the rural-to-urban population shift, a selective population migration, the post World War II increase in the annual birth rate, the rapid and varied changes in occupational technology, and the increased understanding of the role of the community college by administrators and trustees of four-year colleges and universities. These and other evolving social forces in the metropolitan environment are currently making it necessary for even the relatively new urban multi-unit districts to review the organization of their component campuses, and to consider changes that would improve their effectiveness in serving the enlarging clientele within their widespread boundaries.

The normative description of community colleges is derived from a conditional set of assumptions about their organizational character:

♦—*that community colleges will absorb an increasingly large segment of the college-bound population of the nation.* In 1960, more than 600,000 students were enrolled in community colleges; by 1969, there were nearly 2,000,000, including full-time and part-time students. Projections for 1980 are for a community college enrollment of 3,740,000 students, representing nearly 30 percent of all higher education enrollment and over one-third of all undergraduate enrollment in the United States (Carnegie Commission, 1970b). These figures indicate that the community college will increasingly function as the prime lower division institution in the established three-level system of American higher education.

♦—*that entering students represent a wide range of abilities, interests, and backgrounds.* In a study of 10,000 high school students, Trent and Medsker (1968) assessed the distribution of characteristics of the 1,200 students who entered a community college. This research and recent findings of SCOPE (Tillery & Collins, 1972) reveal a great diversity among community college students in socioeconomic background, academic ability, educational attainment of parents, educational interests, type of curriculum followed in high school, and the amount of discussion with parents about anticipated college attendance. Even in recent years, the degree of variation in these features has developed markedly (Carnegie Commission, 1970a, 1970b, 1971). The increasingly open-door character of two-year public institutions accounts for such variations, and represents a major educational challenge to these colleges to continue to successfully accommodate such a vast student input.

♦—*that financial barriers to higher education will be minimized for students entering community colleges.* A

recent report by the Carnegie Commission states that, if universal access to the system of higher education is to be achieved, it is imperative that tuition charges at community colleges be held to a minimum (Carnegie Commission, 1970b). Moreover, it has been considered appropriate that funding from additional sources be made available to developing community colleges, as they face the increasingly difficult task of implementing programs and services for students drawn heavily from low socioeconomic sub-populations (Carnegie Commission, 1970c).

♦ —*that community colleges have been and will continue to be comprehensive institutions.* The community college has historically maintained the broad concept of comprehensive education, and has continued to see its educational role as providing meaningful options for a diverse student body. Reaffirming its belief that the public community college has a unique and important role to play in higher education, the Carnegie Commission (1970b) understands the comprehensive curriculum to include academic, general, occupational, remedial, and continuing adult education.

♦ —*that the community college still relates closely to its surrounding community.* This function essentially differentiates the community college from most other types of institutions of higher education. The problems of the urban poor in the ghetto community are complex and defy easy solutions. If community colleges exist primarily to serve their own localities and to bring higher education within reach of all who wish to take advantage of it, the successful future provision of services to the inner-city community will require not only a major institutional commitment and a great infusion of resources, but also a shared understanding that the educational goals of the ghetto and the college are one (Goodrich, 1970).

On the basis of these assumptions, most authorities (among them Blocker et al., 1965; Medsker, 1960; and Thornton, 1966)

cite five functions as the kinds of related services commonly defined for the community college:

1. The transfer function, which provides preparation for upper division study at a four-year college or university;

2. The occupational function, which prepares students for direct employment, or for retraining and upgrading in allied occupations;

3. The guidance and counseling function which, among its other features, seeks to identify the occupational and professional goals of culturally disadvantaged minority students, and to design the kind of academic program and work experience that will most effectively help them toward these goals;

4. "Developmental programs (Roueche, 1968)," which take a variety of forms, depending on the philosophy of the institution and the needs of its students, designed for those whose previous academic work has not adequately prepared them for higher education;

5. The community service function which, in addition to offering evening degree credit courses and programs, normally includes cultural and topical programs for adults, special events often jointly sponsored with community organizations, and in recent years, actual involvement in the resolution of major community problems such as unemployment, inadequate housing, and urban renewal.

In community colleges located in big cities, these traditional functions are being significantly expanded and modified today in many ways.

NEW FUNCTIONS FOR URBAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES

Most knowledgeable observers describe all urban education as operating in an environment of great uncertainty. Many pressing

national problems relate directly to the nation's cities today, such as the urban attempts to establish equality of individual opportunity, end minority poverty, reduce residential blight, control atmospheric contamination, and improve the general quality of human life.

The multi-unit community college district developed in the past decade in a period marked by social change and changing educational needs. Today, by virtue of its legacy of "open door" access and the comprehensive curriculum, it has the adaptive potential to evolve into still new institutional forms. The '70s will tell much about the expanding functions of the metropolitan community college district, and the present study deals with a specific aspect of these broader district functions—the developing urban community college and its reactions to the needs of inner-city residents.

Initially, extended metropolitan districts developed primarily as a response to population and geographic spread. In addition to the factors listed by Erickson (1964), they were formed to establish a wider tax base under one governing board, thereby offering post high school education to communities unable or often not disposed to provide such educational access. Moreover, the development of the metropolitan district tended to militate against the drawing of arbitrary sectional boundaries by municipal governments—formal lines which have often created barriers to efficient integration of levels of urban education (Bendiner, 1969). For the most part, the fission of one original campus into several metropolitan counterparts has been followed by a conventional institutional model of comprehensive education, emphasizing transfer education and, to a somewhat lesser degree, associate degree technician training. This has been coupled with conventional forms of institutional governance and operation.

By the late 1960s, as a continuing reflection of forces determining urban change on a wider scale, multi-unit community college districts had already begun to modify both their structure and functions. Fretwell (1965), Grede (1970), Erickson (1970), and Gillie (1970) have recently reexamined the concept of one-campus comprehensiveness in a metropolitan setting, and have suggested as a feasible and perhaps necessary alternative the idea of a *system* of modified comprehensiveness for an integrated network of district

institutions. In this plan, each institution would provide all of the basic functions which define the unique role of the community college, but because cities have been increasingly restructured into residential and functional, e.g., industrial and commercial areas (Hodgkinson, 1967; Reissman, 1970), extensive and highly developed special curricula or certain broad clusters of occupational programs would be offered at only one or two institutions, instead of at all colleges within a district. In the latter case, courses of related-area instruction, e.g., general education and liberal arts, would be offered to augment and supplement large and varied occupational training clusters, such as the allied health field.

In suggesting such an arrangement, Grede (1970) has pointed out that, in some cities, rapid public conveyance and unlimited inter-urban expressways have already reduced the problem of geographical access for most clientele, while new forms of concurrent registration within a metropolitan educational network have helped to coordinate and integrate a student's total program in several colleges within a multi-unit district.

The original concept of unit comprehensiveness would not be altered in kind, then, but only modified to emphasize a specific segment of the curriculum best given by one district campus. Writing of this trend in institutional specialization among multi-unit district colleges, the Carnegie Commission (1970b) has noted that it provides greater educational options for urban students, and tends to curtail curriculum duplication and control the level of public tax support.

It is clear that there are definite trends in all multi-unit districts, to varying degrees, toward substantial institutional specialization. This phenomenon, as it is reflected in district organizational adjustments, is discussed in the present report when such organizational modifications relate to college programs for the low-income culturally disadvantaged students.

THE INNER-CITY COLLEGE

The idea of many different and specialized programs and services for a large and needy clientele offered predominantly at one community college in a multi-unit district takes its most significant

form today in the inner-city college. This study is designed to discover the important relationships between multi-unit organization and programs for urban disadvantaged. The research data indicate that the vast majority of educational efforts for disadvantaged urban residents reach predominantly black students from ghettos, who share one or more of the following characteristics: They are from economically poor families, have weak academic backgrounds, have learned poor work habits, and have exhibited little interest in education.* By responding to the needs of such students, the inner-city community college takes the form of a truly different institution, unlike any other institution of higher education functioning in any capacity in America today.

Interestingly, big city districts were established in an era when metropolitanization in America experienced its greatest growth (Schuchter, 1968). During this period, increased geographical mobility and notable economic affluence tended temporarily to blur group differences in an exploding population. In the 1950s and much of the 1960s, urban growth, expressed in increased use of metropolitan land-areas and the residential concentration of nearly one-half of the nation's population, often gave the appearance of an homogenized public life. Institutional development and service seemed to take on a standardized approach to clientele, suggesting a mass sameness in the behavior and characteristics of urban residents.

Grede (1970) points out that "distinct communities were not obvious, or if distinctiveness existed it was not obvious in educational planning." In discussing the relationship of man to city during this period, Hodgkinson (1967) suggests that as a consequence of the overlapping jurisdictions of many urban forces, some residents in fact belonged to no particular urban community. And sociologists, in the past two decades, have tended to negate the influence of local communities and neighborhoods with distinctive life styles and value orientations on metropolitan growth (Ross, 1962).

But this image of urban sameness was dispelled in the latter half of the 1960s with the increasing impact of the social critics

*The authors are aware of varying definitions of "new" students which may reflect a wider spectrum of underprepared clientele now entering the public community college. The emphasis in this report, however, is upon the black ghetto community. Thus, descriptive terms used throughout the study, e.g., disadvantaged, low-income, "new," ghetto, describe essentially the educational condition of this particular clientele.

of urban problems (Galbraith, 1963; Harrington, 1962), the implementation of federal welfare legislation (Economic Opportunity Act, 1964), and the steady influx of migrant minority populations to the central city. In recent years, these forces, plus the additional factor of a continued white residential outpouring to the suburbs, have often left a ghetto suddenly "discovered" by an urban college. For many multi-unit districts today, the urban campus is the inner-city campus; other district institutions are located primarily in the suburbs.

Urban educators, interested citizens, and concerned civic leaders today are deeply involved in seeking models of programs and institutions which can meet the mounting educational needs of the inner city. Even with the rather substantial literature, available particularly since 1965, about the problems of ghetto residents and their educational isolation, answers to the question of an effective and viable approach to the needs of "new" students are still being sought, and in most cases still with limited success.

Although some have called for a new type of institution of higher education in America to meet the needs of the urban center (Kerr, 1968; Schuchter, 1968), the existing community college is potentially best prepared to meet this responsibility; basic is the rapidity with which it can reformulate certain of its conventional organizational and functional features. Even more important, perhaps, is the need to redirect attention to the unique roles and missions of urban community colleges. There is a special educational task for this type of institution, as stated succinctly in a recent statement by the Educational Facilities Laboratory (1969):

> If a college in an urban poor community could be organized in such a way as to make action possible, if what is studied and how it is studied is to have some direct, effective, and meaningful relationship to what goes on in the community, then the college itself must have a set of aims and a structure quite different from the conventional college [p.13].

Three central functions identify the unique missions and roles of the inner-city community college. (Some community colleges presently serve these functions in limited fashion; others

are only beginning to perceive the need for a different orientation to "new" students.) The inner-city college offers:

1. Education beyond high school to culturally and economically disadvantaged students whose educational development requires much more than conventional programs and teaching (Medsker & Tillery, 1971). Data from effective higher education programs for the urban disadvantaged indicate that special arrangements are necessary to remove socioeconomic barriers to higher education for a massive number of students. The various new measures taken include admission to the college based on other than high school performance or conventional diagnostic evaluations, first-admission enrollment in the college rather than in specific programs of study, highly intensive and personal counseling and remedial work to compensate for the educational disabilities, and small faculty-student groupings structured around highly individualized interpersonal relationships. Student financial aid alone can range from part-time employment opportunities and work-study jobs to low-interest loans and outright coverage of such expenses as books, meals, lodging, transportation, and general subsistence.

2. A variety of types and levels of courses leading to occupational specialization. Still the hub of commerce, industry, business, government, and service-related activities, the central city is heavily concentrated with skilled, semiskilled, and semiprofessional occupations and trades. And in gradually increasing numbers, placements in the more sophisticated technical professions are being made in the inner suburbs. Many of the skills required to perform these tasks effectively must be learned through postsecondary training, and in most cases the only available institution for such preparation is the inner-city college. Contrary to current impression, black minorities migrate to central cities today less from the rural South than from other central cities (Schuchter, 1968). Moving essentially because of occupational obsolescence, migrants arrive in new urban centers hoping for jobs. In this sense, rapid technological change in society has necessitated the retraining and upgrading of people in many highly skilled and technical areas. To meet the needs of an increasingly mobile population, as well as those of a rapidly changing post-industrial society, the training, retraining, and upgrading functions of the inner-city college can expect to be

continually expanded and updated. In recent years, the inner-city college has served as a testing ground for many new programs, among them a number in the allied health area and the expanding field of social technology, which were designed primarily to provide community recreation leaders, child day-care personnel, outreach and welfare assistants, and aides for elementary and secondary schools. Sponsored and funded basically through federal economic opportunity legislation, such as New Careers and Community Action Programs, these efforts have become an important feature of community development which has been implemented by the inner-city college.

3. Community services, including the conventional community service effort to provide short-term activities, workshops, and seminars for community residents, particularly housewives, the indigent, and the retired, but going beyond these to meet the special needs of the ghetto community (Goodrich, 1969). These tend to require a new outreach service which "clearly represents efforts to produce on the claims community colleges make about responding to the special needs of the communities which support them (Medsker & Tillery, 1971)."

In response to Kerr's (1968) observation that colleges are "in the urban setting but not part of it," new outreach efforts by inner-city institutions have included the development of "store front" guidance centers, home training sessions for parents of grade-school children, English language clinics in urban neighborhoods, comprehensive community development centers which feature basic college-credit offerings, community interest tours conducted by student community-aides, and roving college personnel acting as liaison between the ghetto community and public and private service agencies in the greater urban area. Projections for the future are for mobile units of regular students and staff prepared to give aid and counseling on a 24-hour basis.

Such efforts have been costly, often hastily designed, and for many complex reasons, not always well-received in the initial encounter. It seems clear, however, that the ghetto cannot be expected to come to the community college, as have segments of the middle-class community. For this reason alone, the new outreach will have to "touch and motivate the alienated in quite

unconventional ways and settings (Medsker & Tillery, 1971)." Goodrich (1969) observes that "the inner-city community college is a highly visible institution *within* the community. And it is increasingly being held accountable *by* the community for unfilled promises," and urges that the institution make the "community service program an 'intercessory' for this purpose."

While retaining the primary functions of the comprehensive community college, then, the inner-city campus would be extensively different from other district colleges both in the composition of its student body and because of the value orientation of the community it most immediately serves.

A New Rationale for the Inner-City College

Higher education is being asked to reassess its role in education, and in many ways already has committed itself to giving more attention to pressing urban problems and their resolution. In the foreseeable future, this may necessitate that it take a new role—as an agent of social change, particularly by intervening actively in ghetto problems and conflicts and their solution.

The urban community college's assignments are difficult educational tasks. The need for new institutional changes and curricular emphases has brought the problems frequently associated with growth. Yet the pressing needs of the urban environment and the imperatives of constant social change call for carefully designed and interrelated organizational structures and functions.

2

The Evolving Structure of Urban Community Colleges

A NEW ORGANIZATIONAL FORM—MUD

The multi-unit district (MUD) is a relatively new organizational form for community colleges. The term covers a diversity of arrangements, but mainly refers to a cluster of institutions organized under a single district office (Jones, 1968). The multi-unit district takes a variety of forms which reflect historical factors, political contingencies, and the implementation of long-range plans (Jensen, 1965; Jones, 1968). Important organizational features associated with MUDs include an agreed-upon division of authority over those matters to be settled primarily by the central office and those to be settled primarily at the local level; a single board of trustees for the district that is either appointed or elected; and a central staff consisting of professionals in community college administration as well as technical and clerical personnel.

Structural Forms of Multi-Unit Districts

Important differences exist between multi-unit districts in the degree of autonomy that each campus possesses within the district. Some multi-unit districts centralize all major decisions about personnel, educational programs, facilities, and campus planning. In

such cases, campuses may provide relevant information but only limited advice on decisions. At the other extreme are districts where most of these critical decisions are made by the local campus, and where the district office functions more as a coordinating body than a governing one. A recent study (Kintzer, Jensen, & Hanson, 1969) has listed the merits of centralized and decentralized administrative structures for MUDs.

Multi-unit districts also vary in the amount of program specialization to be found in their institutional units. In a few cities, for example, the inner-city campus tends to offer courses with substantial differentiation geared to the needs of students from poor economic and educational backgrounds, and is somewhat less responsive to its greater number of white working class students. Another means of differentiation is the degree of increased emphasis given to occupational training programs in select metropolitan areas; one college may stress allied health training, another aircraft design and maintenance. Often arrangements can be made to share staff and facilities in cooperative programs with two or more district community colleges although the preferred curriculum model still tends to be that each campus be uniformly comprehensive.

MUD instructional sites differ within districts. Some MUDs include fairly traditional separate campuses or colleges located on a major parcel of land with buildings constructed specifically for the institution. Deviations from this pattern, however, are becoming more frequent among urban colleges. More use is being made of warehouses, storefronts, churches, commercial buildings, and private homes. These variations are viewed by college personnel as alternative ways to "take education to the people" and to minimize economic, social, and psychological barriers for ghetto youth who may be intimidated by imposing architectural edifices.

Multi-unit districts also differ with respect to number of levels in the decisionmaking hierarchy. Some districts contain several administrative levels of review, which often entails much checking and cross-checking of information before a final decision for implementation can be rendered. In contrast, other districts feature more "horizontal" decisionmaking arrangements, facilitating open communication between the local campus and the district office. An increasingly important development in some districts is the

establishment of local community "boards," which tend to interpose an additional decisionmaking level within the existing hierarchy.

MUDs differ in the nature of their formal and informal relationships with statewide offices and public agencies. Important differences arise in district-state linkages which, in contrast to local-district ties, are often strongly affected by state political conditions. Such conditions may heavily influence the type of long-range planning undertaking, program development, budget administration, and the level of funding. The presence or absence of a state board for community colleges significantly channels the influences of state and government agencies over MUD affairs.

The existence or absence of consortia in a multi-unit district also serves to characterize it. For example, a community college may work closely with a local state college or university in the development of joint programs, or may link cooperatively with certain businesses or industries to establish work-study arrangements for students, share expenses for equipment and facilities, or invite staff from a business or industry to teach on a part-time basis. Graybaud (1967) has an interesting discussion of the "university city" which utilizes, through various cooperative endeavors, the broad range of public and private educational skills and resources located in major cities.

Finally, multi-unit districts are distinguished from one another in the way in which they relate to their local community. Many urban community colleges still tend to limit their relations to local student clientele while others are becoming directly involved in local social, economic, and political issues.

The Rationale of Multi-Unit Community College Districts

Literature on organizational change and expansion makes frequent allusion to two general categories of developmental problems that have to be resolved in complex organizations:

1. Problems concerned with the definition and redefinition of organizational goals. Goals serve to provide direction to a number of intra- and extra-organizational activities, such as

personnel recruitment, program development, client relationships, size and type of staff, and evaluation of performance. Clearly articulated goals serve as focal points for assessing the contributions of various programs, and the process of assessment in turn points the way to needed changes.

2. Problems of building administrative and organizational structures which define relationships of work positions, departments, and larger units within an organization. Theoretically, organizational structures are intended to facilitate organizational goals, which suggests that structure would follow from function or goal. Realistically, we know this does not always happen. In fact, analysts of bureaucracy conclude that complex organizations take on a life of their own, nurtured, in the main, by structural considerations, i.e., division of labor, degree of specialization, work flow, rules, and procedures.

Merton (1957), for one, talks about the "displacement of goals" in bureaucracies when the means become more important than the goals sought. In addition to organizational structure per se, "means" may also include financial resources, buildings and equipment, geographic space and utilities, as well as personnel, policy manuals, and management information systems. As a complex organization, it is clear that, at least to date, the prime motivating factors underlying MUD development tend to be means- rather than ends-oriented. In their initial development, MUDs are governed by economy, efficiency, and political pragmatism.

Economy refers to the resources available to finance MUD operations. Capital expenses and operating costs can be minimized when services common to campuses (budget preparation, formulation of standard accounting procedures, development of campus planning on a district-wide basis, centralization of media services, maintenance of an instructional research center, and definition of particular kinds of programs) are centralized.

Economic factors surface quickly and assume great significance in arguments for the establishment of new multi-unit districts in urban areas desiring an educational upsurge. A single (centralized) and rational (economic) approach can be used by the

district to attract financial support from private foundations or federal or state agencies that would not otherwise be available. A recent study by Eulau and Quinley (1970) of the attitudes and expectations of state legislators concerning higher education pointed clearly and favorably to the community college which, as a public institution, practices functional economies in a relatively consistent fashion. It is understandable that new and larger MUDs would desire to continue this trend in frugal operations.

Efficiency refers to the resources needed to produce a unit of output, i.e., the average amount of money needed to move a student to completion of a particular program. This approach requires unequivocal quantitative support for existing and proposed programs, and comes closest to insuring that resources are applied judiciously in programs where the most can be returned for the dollar invested. Cheit (1971) indicates that community college administrators, for example, continue to search for ways to improve efficiency in institutional operations, pointing to the increased interest by college personnel in systems analysis and unit-cost analysis as an important adjunct to program planning and evaluation.

Political pragmatism concerns the extent to which decisions on critical policies are responsive to the wishes of important vested interests both inside and outside MUDs. Political pragmatism emerges as a very important factor in the development of the multi-unit district. Medsker and Tillery (1971) recognize the role played by political interests when they state:

> There is danger that institutional and program reorganization result less from rational planning to achieve explicitly defined goals than from accommodating conflicting power structures and efforts to disguise business as usual [p.141].

There is sufficient evidence to indicate that many community groups, e.g., labor, business, and industry, function in important ways to foster their particular interests. Here, MUD personnel must be political realists, weighing with discretion and alacrity social forces which impinge upon decisionmaking. As examples: The construction of a campus in a particular part of the city can result

more from the influence of a municipal agency than from a rational plan for the district: the implementation of particular occupational and technical programs may reflect the strength of various labor unions; and the attempts to structure reasonable and uniform salary schedules must be made with awareness of the neo-unionization of district faculty. Long-range plans for district development which do not consider such factors probably will not be successful.

It is not surprising that the analysis of the three features above gives a rather conventional tone to the structure of community college MUDs today. The origins of the community college are to be found primarily in the comprehensive public secondary school in America (Carnegie Commission, 1970b), whose system of operation featured: a hierarchically arranged authority structure; communication flow from the top down; work loads routinely distributed by formula according to the size of the institution and the number of its educational departments; determination of fund allocation by traditional line item budgeting; frugality and rationality in administrative decisionmaking in terms of the public interest; and control by citizens usually representative of the local community power structure.

Medsker and Tillery (1971) observe that this historical affiliation has tended, until very recently, to result in a more conservative approach to governance than is found in the other segments of higher education, with which the community college is now a full partner. As these authors go on to suggest, this conventional form of governance and administration is being gradually modified in an increasing number of community colleges.

The process of change in the structure of community college MUDs may not be taking place quickly enough, however, to keep pace with the special requirements of the inner-city institution. Thus, economy, efficiency, and political pragmatism still function as primary factors in the development of MUDs. Given the important substantive role of inner-city colleges, it may be that a collision course has been set for the educational tasks which must be done and the existing administrative structure within the district.

3

Emerging Problems for Urban Community Colleges

THE PROBLEMS

The considerable variety of problems that beset the urban multi-unit community college arise primarily within three broad areas: its initial design and subsequent expansion, the internal administrative structure and organization of its district office, and the coordination and governance of campuses serving different educational purposes and different community environments.

Wide variations now exist in the number, type, and size of district colleges. Most MUDs presently have two or three separate colleges or campuses, but larger systems do exist. For example, the City Colleges of Chicago system, the largest district in the nation, comprises nine individual campuses (including TV College) and contains over 100 individual instructional sites—church basements, storefronts, warehouses, private homes. The Los Angeles City College District, the largest district in the west, also has eight individual campuses and numerous centers and annexes in the metropolitan area.

Campus size similarly covers a broad and varying spectrum. Although enrollments at urban community colleges average about 3,500 full-time students, institutions with much smaller and much larger student bodies also exist. In an expanding district structure, the question of optimum size depends on such considerations as available public transportation, campus facilities, instructional methods, the type of curriculum, the type of student body, and joint programs with other institutions.

The missions and roles of the several district colleges within single districts are still problematical. Increasing interest is seen for more specialized and complementary functions served by urban community colleges, but the exact nature of these arrangements and the mechanisms to foster cooperative programming raise many questions. Answers to many of these questions about the number, type, and size of academic units appear to be determined mainly on grounds of economy, efficiency, and political pragmatism.

Because the determination of answers to critical questions rests heavily on the philosophy of governance held by key administrators in the district, the size, location, and organization of the district office takes on great significance. While the location of the district office is generally a factor in the public attitudes held toward the district, of even greater importance is whether a district office is located on one of the campuses. When it is, that campus often inadvertantly takes on a preeminent status, and as a consequence of the administrative arrangement, the campus frequently faces a different set of problems. Even after the district office has moved away from a campus, its location there at some earlier time often gives that campus a "flagship" image.

A district's internal organization is determined by two factors:

1. *The number and variety of tasks assigned to the district office* have bearing on the professional-technical admixture and internal organization of the staff. Although district office operations share personnel, budgets, curricula, and campus planning, there are important differences in the number and kind of "extra" jobs assigned to district offices, such as the administration of federal programs, centralized library acquisitions, student financial-aid programs, and centralized (and computerized) student admissions.

2. *The management structure* of district office organization usually reflects the combined needs of administrative officers and staff and of the educational tasks which must be effectively performed by district office personnel. Two "styles" of management structure seem to predominate presently in urban MUDs. A communications-oriented system of management features a free flow exchange of ideas laterally across staff positions; many alternative suggestions are equally possible choices for decisionmaking. A

hierarchical differentiation system of management features efficient coordination of staff effort for decisionmaking through centralized direction and task differentiation. Blau and Scott (1962) indicate the advantage of both management styles for problem-solving, and discuss the problems inherent when a shift is required from one to the other type of structure. Generally, the former model tends to operate with fewer staff, since no person is permanently assigned but "floats" across operational areas.

The central problem of networks of all large organizations is the power relationship between the district office and the local campus. How much control does the sub-unit have, and how much should it have? Generally, districts that prefer more central control usually require a larger staff, primarily because of the sheer number of tasks this central office must perform. Other districts purposely place much decisionmaking at the lowest level in the district, or practice "selective decentralization," so that budgeting, for example, may be controlled primarily by district staff, but curriculum development left principally to campuses.

Normally, the role of community advisory committees has been to provide advice to individual community colleges or to the district on needed programs in the occupational-technical fields. Since the unique mission and role of the inner-city college requires that the relationship between the college and local community be very close, however, community advisory boards often have included ghetto residents who, consequently, have had a voice in deciding vital campus matters. Today, extremely important issues can arise between the district office and local campuses over the function, organization, composition, and even the persistence of these committees. The search continues for better ways to build this critical bridge with the immediate community.

Where district governance involves both city and county governments, the likelihood is great that conflicts will arise regarding policies for the MUD. Certainly the relationships between MUDs and various statewide coordinating or planning agencies are already in question. The statewide agency may consist of a board for community colleges and/or a coordinating council for all levels of public higher education, and some states have moved away altogether from the intermediary board, i.e., the district community college

boards or state board for community colleges. The different state developments have as yet shown no clear trend.

The planning process for the establishment of new districts and for the orderly expansion of existing districts calls for planning based on analysis and guidelines. The breadth of the planning operation (i.e., should it involve planning for facilities only or should it integrate curricula, finances, and facilities), the kinds of issues to be studied, the type of research undertaken, and the various persons involved in the planning process are all subsumed under overall planning.

While these issues are a key to the central topic of this study—the relationship between the structures and fucntions of urban community colleges and the ways in which structure affects function—they also represent the problems faced by all MUDs during their development and growth. Most recently, they may define the basic features of existing MUDs, and as such, these organizational features are of concern to this study as they affect programming for culturally and economically disadvantaged students.

Functions and Structures:
Compatibility or Conflict—An Hypothesis

In the study of complex organizations, the relationship between functions and structures is frequently studied by the use of "function theory." The basic tenet of functional theory is that the social consequences of phenomena, not merely their origins, must be taken into account in sociological inquiry. More specifically, this theory, as expounded by a leading social theorist, Blau (1970), can be summarized as follows:

> The first concept, that of function, directs the researcher to ascertain the consequences of a given phenomenon and to evaluate their significance for the structure.

> The second functional consideration is: What are the mechanisms or processes through which a contribution is effected?
>
> Third, latent functions are the unanticipated consequences of social behavior that contribute to structural adjustment.
>
> Fourth, since behavior patterns have not only beneficial results, attention must also be paid to "*dysfunctions,* those observed consequences which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of the system (Merton, 1957, p.50)." The study of dysfunctions is of particular interest because they frequently are indicators of potential modifications of the structure.

The present research problem focuses on the relationship between the performance of inner-city community colleges within multi-unit district organizational structures in serving the educational needs of low-income students. By asking what types of district structures are more supportive than others of the inner-city campus and its goals, the study attempts to identify those features of district structure that enhance the performance of its inner-city campus.

To the extent that district structure does not fully support performance at the campus level, it is expected that certain problems will be visible. In fact, the appearance of these problems serves as an indicator that structures and functions are not fully compatible.

Four basic areas are frequently cited in the literature as potential problems for complex organizations: the definition of goals, the recruitment of personnel, the allocation of resources, and the management of internal conflict. Phillip Selznick (1956) sees the management of these basic organizational problems as the key responsibilities of administrative leadership.

The problem of definition of goals is critically related to the difficulty in getting college faculty and administrators and community citizens to understand and accept the special missions and roles of the inner-city college as spelled out in Chapter I.

A current and pressing concern of community college districts for the fate of their inner-city campus is linked to the phenomenon of "going black," which has tended to fragment community support for the mission and role of an institution whose educational task requires heavily sustained support. As can be seen most clearly at the ballot box when district bond issues are to be voted on, many influential groups within the community are not likely to endorse or fully support extensive programs and facilities for the education of the urban poor. Support for urban inner-city colleges has become increasingly weak, and it has required special efforts by all within the district to insure funding.

There seems little doubt that full acceptance of the ghetto college by its general citizenry, major business and political groups, and district faculty and administrators is potentially one of the most challenging problems facing this new institution.

A contributing difficulty is that the personnel requirements of the inner-city campus are different from those of suburban or rurally-located community colleges. The basic challenge before urban faculty lies first in understanding ghetto life; after that they must develop appropriate courses and educational experiences for an urban clientele and teach in a way and at a level that truly reaches people from ghettos.

This is, admittedly, no easy task. The traditional values and habits of graduate schools often weigh heavily on the teaching styles and educational philosophies of community college faculty members (Roueche & McFarlane, 1970), most of whose training was designed for teaching "regular" students, from white, middle-class backgrounds with at least a passing record and a value for additional education beyond high school. It may well be that the inner-city college needs not only a new breed of faculty, but one with special training to meet the educational problem which exists in major cities across the nation.

Raising enough money to meet the needs of the inner-city campus also presents a special problem. Because they are generally located in or adjacent to run-down poverty areas, these institutions generate special support problems for the district in obtaining suitable sources of funds from local taxes. Critical decisions are likely to face district personnel in allocating available district funds, for

one reason because community groups are increasingly arguing that the expense of establishing suitable programs and services for ghetto students is much higher than anticipated. Yet without substantial funding, these campuses simply cannot meet their responsibilities.

Another dimension of the problem of resources concerns general district procedures which govern the use of funds allocated to campuses. Inner-city institutions present unusual problems to district staff in the utilization and accountability of funds. Because the financial problems of many ghetto students are great and immediate, the dramatic measures which would meet their needs may prove too costly in the long view of district fiscal balance.

Inner-city campuses of urban community college districts seem especially vulnerable to the problem of managing internal conflict within the system. Because faculty generally are not very certain about what "works" educationally with ghetto youth, there is a noticeable range of opinion about what direction to take. Sensitive program or project personnel are often in a position to know the situation best; other staff, however, may be largely unaware of the severity of the ghetto student problem, either because of a lack of information about its nature or a lack of direct experience with it, or both. Intense debates may arise over the "best" ways to serve ghetto students, sometimes ending in an initial assessment that grossly unprepared individuals are not worthy clients of higher education.

To the extent that the problems detailed above predominate, corrective measures seem to be indicated. As Blau (1970) so succinctly states above, "The study of dysfunctions is of particular interest because they frequently are indicators of potential modifications of the structure." Dysfunctions, then, often give rise to structural change.

Blau's statement suggests an hypothesis about dysfunction as it relates to changing the district structure of urban community colleges. If some of the traditional and standard organizational procedures in staffing, budgeting, equipping, and programming are applied to the development of new programs and services for the "new," disadvantaged ghetto students, then these efforts will probably not be very successful.

To the extent that this study can help point up strengths and weaknesses in present techniques for educating the poor who are new to higher education and for serving other important needs of major cities, then possibly efforts can be more intelligently planned for the improvement of educational approaches.

4

District Organization and the Inner-City Campus

"GOING BLACK"–A PROBLEM OF ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS

In at least five MUDs, one or more inner-city campuses are experiencing a changing pattern of student enrollment, referred to by many staff members as the process of "going black"–a steady annual increase in the black student body. Many speak of a "tipping point," a period in time "at which a relatively stable pattern of ethnic composition is replaced by a pattern of heightened change (Warshauer & Dentler, 1970)." The phenomenon of rapid displacement is less than five years old in all MUDs surveyed, and there is now a substantial percentage of black students on campuses that had all white enrollments only two years before. Several inner-city colleges are nearly 50 percent black; one is virtually all black.

This situation presently puts MUD development at the heart of several heated social issues, such as the white flight to the suburbs, minority disenchantment with the administration of public education, pressing manpower needs and training requirements for urban minorities, and the increased black demands for control of neighborhood schools (Levin, 1970).

As a significantly related factor, it was found in the present study that white students are withdrawing increasingly from many inner-city campuses, and that groups of white taxpayers now often

refuse to support a MUD whose inner-city campus also serves adjacent white residential communities.

Future support for minority programs and people in expanding MUDs puts to task the utmost in skill and understanding of governing boards and administrations of MUDs. And in a very real sense, it questions the success of present approaches to developing programs for the disadvantaged.

These data show the very real difficulties faced by district chancellors and their staffs in implementing district-wide policies and practices that are, more or less, equally applicable to all campuses. The fact that at least one institution, the inner-city campus, may have a different and unique educational role places special demands on district staff and others. For district staff, this means that a keen sensitivity and understanding is required to anticipate how district decisionmaking either enhances or impedes the performance of the inner-city campus. This somewhat global requirement has several important spin-offs for district policy and practices.

District staff can also be very important to the performance of the inner-city campus in instances when rapid moves must be made to meet ghetto student demands. A Black Studies program, for example, cannot be established quickly with what is often the laborious machinery of program review, approval, inclusion in the budget, and funding. Some of the existing procedures and rules may need to be rewritten if the enthusiasm and excitement of students and faculty for special educational efforts are not to be quickly dampened and perhaps stilled.

"FACULTY AWARENESS"—A PROBLEM OF PERSONNEL RECRUITMENT

Many faculty are uninformed or confused about the plight of the educationally disadvantaged student. As a district-wide problem, many instructors assigned duties in Remediation and Basic Skills programs are not immune. Faculty find it difficult to understand the effectiveness of "pressure cooker" efforts to correct twelve years of poor learning habits, the meaning of the term "disadvantaged" (many say that all urban youths are disadvantaged), how to fit high school dropouts into any college entrance program,

or any modification of established college achievement standards.

Not a few faculty clearly resent what they see as the trend toward further invasion of professional privacy and academic pursuits. Many do not understand what is happening in or to the inner-city campus, and openly wonder how the college "got into this kind of mess."

Some faculties have experienced chronic conflict. In one district with various black factions, where minority political power currents have been running strongly and actively for many years, faculty speak of their inability to understand how these groups are disadvantaged, or what their practical requirements are of higher education. Thus, a legacy of confusion and uncertainty concerning aid to the disadvantaged remains from the time of the formation of the district.

Differences between MUD campuses seem to relate to differences in the way staff members view programming for the disadvantaged student. Whatever their persuasion, inner-city personnel are the most actively involved in the midst of a changing institution, while suburban college staffs are not nearly so involved with poverty groups, do not use the term "disadvantaged" as often in reference to the total student body, and do not recruit culturally disadvantaged students in an active way. Faculty in the latter group state that they feel they are following the proper educational role required for and by their community, and in general do not seem so sympathetic to the development of programs for the disadvantaged. At least at the time of this study, they voiced a guarded concern about an institutional "identity crisis" for their campus should the MUD structure be substantially modified.

In an illuminating example of this kind of institutional image reinforcement, faculty in one suburban college defined their community as the heartland of urban white population growth. The research team was informed that the community wanted the college there for its young people, and so the institution's operation must be relevant to that community's needs and desires. Subsequently, ten student leaders from this suburban institution were interviewed about minority student enrollment and programs for the disadvantaged. Five of the students were members of ethnic minorities. About their college, they said: there is a *selected* number

of minority students attending; the curriculum is academically-oriented; select career programs are part of the academic divisions; most of the occupational programs are at other district campuses; the district's better students attend this college, and are more "conservative" and learning-oriented; and local senior institutions favor transfer students from this college. In the course of the interview, several students referred to the college as the "Harvard" of the district.

MUD administrators are aware of this problem, by and large, and comment generally about the need for basic faculty attitude changes concerning the open-ended role of the community college in enlarged urban settings. Three general and related measures were considered by them as minimum requirements for a solution to faculty unresponsiveness: recruit more faculty with community college training and philosophical commitment, train more faculty to understand the widening range of urban student capabilities and interests, and establish regular in-service faculty training sessions geared to current knowledge about the community and its minority subcultures. Many administrators conceded that while such practices were continually being called for by community college practitioners, little had actually been done to modify present teacher training methods.

Many fine and challenging programs are continually hindered because of the lack of knowledgeable and committed faculty (Roueche & McFarlane, 1970). District officers play a key role in seeing to it that district policies on recruitment and staff training fully support the goals and objectives of *each* of their campuses. The inner-city campus cannot become, as some interviewees suggested, a dumping ground for weak faculty or troublemakers. To the extent that districts are unsuccessful in obtaining faculty suited by experience and training to the challenge of the inner-city campus, then this institution is likely to experience a great deal of frustration in attempting to accomplish its assigned missions and roles.

MONEY—A PROBLEM OF RESOURCE ALLOCATION

The concept of MUD and the challenge of educating low-income students pose many basic questions about the budget

allocation procedures and fiscal policies of urban community colleges. Based on the data from the present study, the problem of money can be analyzed into three related parts.

1. The amount of money available to urban community colleges for low-income student programs is generally insufficient, and in some instances woefully inadequate. As the need to reach students at this income level grows, the available monies needed to do the job are decreasing. For a time, it was lack of "know-how" in applying for federal and foundation monies that hampered developments in this area. Current trends, however, suggest an erosion of funds available to meet inner-city demands. In addition to a retrenchment of federal funding, districts are facing defeats in obtaining bond issues and tax overrides and greater agency scrutiny of federally-sponsored programs at community colleges, which also are feeling the press for "accountability." Furthermore, major cities across the nation are on the brink of bankruptcy with unprecedented demands for tax-supported services and overtaxed revenue sources.

2. The source of funds constitutes another dimension of the problem. Advantages and disadvantages are cited by various people about district use of "external" versus "internal" funding of special programs. Conventional wisdom appears to give the advantage to "external" funding, on which district policy presumably places few restrictions. Increasingly, though, this is becoming more fiction than fact. Our data lead to the conclusion that there is no clear advantage to either approach, and that some combination of both inside and outside funding is the most viable long-term strategy. Federal funds are generally given as "seed money" for new advances in education for low-income students. Districts realize that their funds will eventually have to cover the majority of the expenses of programs deemed worthy of continuation.

3. The administration of monies allocated to programs for low-income students also was a problem repeatedly mentioned by interviewees, most of them administrators of such programs. The concern was over the appropriations of district-wide budgeting and formulas to their areas, primarily formulas covering faculty-student ratios and numbers of assigned counselors and tutors. Traditional

budgetary concepts and practices were seen by many program personnel as too restrictive and too rigid to allow for experimentation, adaptation, or most importantly, for an effective total effort. Thus, under current budgetary systems and accounting techniques, program administrators evidently spend significant portions of their time attempting to obtain needed resources.

Two other important aspects of fund administration bear mention. Although, as discussed in Chapter I, the urban community college should take the education of low-income students as a primary responsibility, this study found that funding priorities within districts continue to reflect a fairly strong and traditional emphasis on its transfer function rather than on other increasingly important programs. Secondly, personnel most directly involved in existing programs for ghetto students candidly admit to a lack of knowledge about what "works." In this case, when monies are available, a very real problem often emerges about the effective usage of these monies, regardless of their source.

The interrelationships of organizational problems are clear in the case of monies to support programs for disadvantaged students. Because the characteristics of programs and services formulated to meet the needs of low-income students do not easily fit the requirements of the organizational rules and procedures of "program budgeting" and "program accountability," such efforts are bound to suffer. For example, programs for disadvantaged students generally require "richer" student-faculty ratios; the numbers of students involved in a very expensive program may be very small; and the amount of time required to move students through a program may be quite variable. During interviews, it became clear that program survival was the uppermost concern of most program directors, many of whom frankly admitted that their programs might be excised in the next budget cycle as district and other funds decrease and the need for positive results increases.

PERCEPTUAL DIFFERENCES–A PROBLEM OF MANAGING INTERNAL CONFLICT

A common element of complex organizations is conflict. Conflict develops about basic assumptions and directions; staff recruitment and promotions; assignments, authority relations, and

office locations; and even about the relative sizes of desks. Presently, these conflicts in MUDs are most dramatically apparent in areas related to low-income students and how their needs should be met. The following analysis suggests how these problems were perceived in MUDs, the conscientious attempts made to resolve disagreements, and the consequences associated with these activities for the educational effectiveness of the inner-city campus.

There was general agreement among MUD personnel that not enough was being done for the disadvantaged in their communities and that more needed to be done; that each MUD was unique in that no other district had "these few good things going" or "these particular problems" standing in the way of future progress; that transportation to district campuses was poor, particularly for low-income students; that little evaluation had been done of those programs for the disadvantaged that had already been undertaken; and that few programs for the ghetto student had involved extensive planning.

While there were disagreements within districts over a variety of topics, in the main, these have not yet resulted in conflict because clear lines of disagreement have not been drawn. Differences within districts over such matters as "going black," the recruitment of appropriate staff, and the allocation of money can emerge as major conflicts, however, if not carefully watched and skillfully managed.

One area of major conflict was already apparent, however, in at least two of the six districts studied—the extent of local community control over the inner-city campus. The conflict is between the leaders of powerful interest groups in the local community and district board members, district administrative officers, and administrators of the inner-city campuses. Disagreements focus on the opposition to legal bases of control by extra-legal forces such as new minority power centers. This confrontation takes into consideration more than matters of public higher education; it is circumscribed by nothing less than the general ethos of a "grass-roots" movement working to obtain control of the important aspects of the political and economic structure which is defined by middle-class American values.

In those places where conflict over institutional control is enjoined, there is a relentless challenge to the legitimacy of district

board decisions, district office authority, criteria for the selection of campus administrators, and appointments of other key campus personnel. Once the momentum of this conflict reaches a point where the locally-organized movement realizes that it has the upper hand, two things happen. First, the success of the movement attracts other minority and special interest groups who were previously watchful for an opportunity to move on the Establishment. Second, the district officers and staff are gradually drained of alternate legal means for dealing with this problem.

The structural features and organizational problems reviewed in this chapter provide some of the most critical reasons for the cycle of frustration faced by district personnel attempting to cope with all the dimensions of the urban situation.

5

Frustrations in Programming for Disadvantaged Students

PROGRAMS AND SERVICES IN THE DISTRICTS

> All those in higher education are, or certainly should be, aware that the philosophy and objectives stated do not truly represent the present action of far far too many institutions, perhaps even a majority. Much is being written in brochures, catalogs, and public relations articles in newspapers and magazines, but the actualities don't measure up to statements by administrators and public relations officers. This "credibility gap" can't and won't be sanctioned by the students and taxpayers much longer [Cosand, 1970, p.265].

This acute observation about the rhetoric of higher education, made recently by a nationally-recognized leader in community college education, applies equally to inner-city institutions. Increasingly pressured by many groups to move to meet the educational needs of low-income ghetto students, they must develop the necessary programs and services, but under conditions which lead to increasing frustration in attaining this goal. One obvious outcome has been the numerous published statements about the ways in which ghetto students are or will be served by local community colleges. Examined closely, such claims fall considerably short of the realities, and urban community college faculty and

administrators are both concerned for the shortcomings of many of these programs and frank about the difficulties in developing and maintaining viable programs for the ghetto disadvantaged.

Programming for the disadvantaged in the six urban community college districts surveyed in this study covers a broad range of functions, including recruitment, counseling, tutoring, preparation in basic skills, developmental curricula offerings, remediation, financial aid, and job placement. A significant dimension of programming was found to be several supportive services required to maintain student interest and involvement, as well as to provide money, in addition to tuition and fees, for food, transportation, and necessary living expenses.

Programs

The range of programs for the disadvantaged falls into four categories.

1. There is a basic skills orientation, a "fundamentals of fundamentals" approach to basic general education offerings. These are commonly institutional requirements for graduation (associate degree program) or courses designed to meet the related-area requirement for occupational programs (degree or certificate programs). Such courses attempt to present with somewhat less rigor the essentials of social science, humanities, and life science, and are usually formulated to smooth the transition to community college for the poorly prepared high school graduate. Efforts to improve basic skills include pre-college institutes, summer preparation programs, and regular college-year special service institutes. Together with programs of remediation, basic skills offerings tend to be the most common effort made for helping the limited number of disadvantaged found in suburban campuses of MUDs.

2. Remedial programs are made available, to improve skills in the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Methods for developing workable remedial programs include special diagnostic testing, "walk-in" day and evening clinics, no-grade options, and the

use of the behavioral objectives approach as well as programmed learning techniques. Remediation is offered either in the form of special courses in appropriate college divisions, e.g., English as a Second Language (English) or Fundamentals of Arithmetic (Mathematics), or as a package project combining all basic remediation effort for a prescribed period of time, usually a semester or two quarters. Summer remedial programs are widely offered. The remediation effort is used often in combination with various services, such as group and individual counseling, peer tutoring, consulting specialists, and lay teaching and clinic assistants. It was clear in the six urban districts studied that this category of programming for the disadvantaged student attempted to meet the most pressing needs of the widest student age/sex range in the greatest number of community colleges.

3. Short term specialty training is made available mainly for direct and immediate job placement. With few exceptions, such programs provide preparation in less than a year, and many call for completion in a specified number of weeks. A large portion of this effort is in terms of government subventions central to such training efforts as New Careers, the National Youth Corp Program, MDTA, and VEA-related projects. For instance, in one district teaching aides were trained on a work-study basis in a concentrated summer session for employment in college science laboratory courses. At another downtown center, modular work-study programs were developed which allowed students to concentrate on learning new business machines for several weeks, and then to return to the classroom for several weeks of didactic presentation. In a unique "crash" program, the Bureau of Indian Affairs acted jointly with an urban district to set up an occupational training project to prepare select male Indian residents for entry into available trade openings.

Conventional college offerings in general education or liberal arts do not figure very much in these training programs. The primary emphasis is on job preparation for immediate employment. It was generally observed, however, that formal job placement procedures involving the college and specific community industries and businesses are less developed aspects of these particular short-term training programs.

4. There are campus extension operations, variously referred to as community annexes, development or neighborhood centers, and street academies. The federal Model Cities program and some Manpower Development Training Act projects have been directly related to the urban community college's role in this kind of organizational outreach. The campus extension attempts to meet the needs of more culturally-inclusive neighborhoods within the larger urban community. Students can attend classes at many locations in the ghetto district, transportation problems are reduced, and crash offerings often meet immediate needs.

The flagship college also provides additional support through part- and full-time instructional staff members, mobile counseling units, and roving specialists and consultants. With such services available, older potential students need not leave a known local environment, and younger students can find the outreach center a stepping-stone to a main campus.

A variation to the campus annex approach is the informal tie-in which some inner-city colleges have with other public agency programs developed for the disadvantaged, such as, for example, limited storefront job-training programs sponsored by EOP. Inner-city colleges can, informally, adjust some of their curriculum and course scheduling to the educational needs of the storefront schools.

Services

The six urban MUDs studied also provide other important services for the disadvantaged. Some have established busing on a trial basis, and its feasibility is being explored by others. One MUD is in the process of planning subsidization of its own busing service on a districtwide basis.

A less common form of busing service is mobile counseling vans which carry teams of the regular college counseling staff to the homes of ghetto residents during the day, and often in the evening. For many residents, these teams provide the only liaison between the ghetto and the college. While used in only limited fashion in two MUDs at the time of this study, other MUDs knew

of the counseling-recruiting van approach and it was an anticipated feature of community outreach service in several development plans.

Most personnel interviewed at MUDs mentioned counseling and guidance services as an important key to reaching the disadvantaged, and all MUD colleges appeared to have substantial counseling and guidance staffs. Some MUDs keep this student service centralized, with the understanding that such a structure maintains the identity of the counselor while providing privacy for the student. Other MUDs decentralize the service within instructional divisions. Inner-city campus counseling and guidance staffs are usually pressed to be more active and adaptable to varying client needs.

Group guidance, sensitivity training, and encounter grouping are concepts of interpersonal involvement presently considered important by most counseling and guidance personnel. Strengthened self-image and greater readiness for college are given as the prime considerations for future student services on inner-city campuses.

Tutoring is a special kind of counseling and guidance service which appears to operate increasingly as a significant dimension of overall aid to disadvantaged students. The most successful tutoring noted by the research team was that done by peers. Peer counseling and tutoring are presently important adjuncts to ongoing programs for the disadvantaged in many inner-city community colleges and are techniques both project directors and chief administrators are planning to use.

Finally, most programs for the disadvantaged student attempt to provide some minimum financial support for those in need; such help extends to tuition and fees, books and supplies, and transportation and subsistence. Important additional financial aid is sometimes made available to students through grants-in-aid, stipends, loans, and scholarships. Three sources are primarily responsible for most of this funding: HEW-OEO grants, specifically allocated state monies, and district funds. In all MUDs, federal funds historically have provided support for the longest term efforts to meet the needs of the disadvantaged.

The Frustration Factor

A major problem faced by the research teams throughout the study was the general lack of systematically gathered data on

the effectiveness of programs for disadvantaged students. Because most programs do not incorporate means for formal evaluation, those who teach or administer them generally have not yet had the opportunity to assess the success or failure of their programs.

More than 200 interviews with faculty, students, and administrators directly involved in the programs yielded a wide range of perspectives on the programs studied. The question of overall program effectiveness was approached through discussions about the number of students in the programs, the academic achievements of students enrolled in them, the success of vocational extension programs, the success or failure of students who transfer to other colleges, the satisfaction of students and faculty with the programs, and the special problems or conditions which relate to program effectiveness. Over 150 such programs and/or services were noted by the research teams at the 20 community colleges surveyed in the study.

A majority of respondents observed that the results of institutional efforts for disadvantaged students at their respective colleges had too often been disappointing. Some of the most prevalent inadequacies reported are listed below briefly, not as generalizations of problems which have emerged in the categories of programs and services listed above, but to convey the respondents' sense of frustration, and their perplexity about the genesis and resolution of unsatisfactory programs.

Problems were reported as having developed as a result of:

Lack of initial planning. Programs were not related to the total curricular pattern of the urban district and to the life style of ghetto residents. Many programs, for example, are initiated with little provision for day-care for the children of student mothers, for legal aid measures often required to achieve a stable learning environment for students awaiting routine processing by law enforcement agencies, for the acute health and emotional problems which greatly afflict ghetto students, or for the subsistence needs of extremely poor students planning on full-time attendance.

This lack of coordination by the college with other agencies involved in the life of the ghetto dweller points up the need for a full-time agent, such as a financial aids officer, to serve in a

coordinating capacity. Many respondents stated that districts often attempt to do too much at once with limited financial and physical capabilities, instead of opting for intense saturation in behalf of a compelling community need, such as, for example, counseling. Other programs are apparently launched without the realization that much of their content duplicates efforts made by other colleges in the same district, or conflict with similar programs offered by other public agencies for residents in the same community.

The transportation problem for minority students has not been adequately solved, and has been exacerbated as MUDs grow geographically larger. It is a fact of ghetto life that students from such areas usually do not own automobiles, and most urban transit systems have been found to be generally unsatisfactory. Ghetto residents too far removed from the campus are often unable to take advantage of well-developed community college programs.

Lack of experienced awareness of problems which can be generated by ongoing programs. For instance, district budget restrictions have tended to increase the teaching loads of regular academic staff members in primarily Basic Skills and Remedial programs for the disadvantaged. Often these instructors feel coerced to present what they consider to be substandard coursework. One serious result of this problem has been the development of internal power struggles within colleges for control of the special educational programs: an academic department, for example, may compete with a special skills institute for the control of history offerings.

According to respondents, students required to enroll in special college programs can often fall between these conflicting factions with unfortunate results. And where Basic Skills programs have been offered on a voluntary basis, they often have been avoided by ghetto students who cannot understand what an instructor is saying or who miss the relevance of the course content for their own lives.

Remedial programs offer learning fundamentals which are often viewed by ghetto students as a repetition of their secondary school experiences; they regard it as a way of repeating a cycle of personal failure. In programs where remediation includes behavioral objectives and programmed learning techniques, many

students do not succeed because they cannot read directions adequately or cannot, because of pressing home and family responsibilities, voluntarily attend the many laboratory sessions recommended in addition to regularly scheduled class meetings.

Community college respondents also noted that disadvantaged students in many special educational programs do not regularly receive college credit, and are often distinguished from students enrolled in the regular college curriculum in ways that suggest they are in a special "salvage" category appended to the normal curricula. As a consequence, many ghetto students, understandably job-conscious, face an extended period of time in college preparation as well as the threat to an already weak self-image.

Many sharply phrased opinions came from staff involved in beleaguered community outreach programs. They pointed out that campus extension projects designed for permanent location within the ghetto community are not always planned with the vital community and neighborhood participation necessary for success in a wary social environment. Months after district organizational and fiscal decisions have determined their format, projects risk meeting with increased intransigence and invective by community residents, or with the ultimate challenge of militant local community control.

Respondents also indicated increasing concern for two special problems of staffing for programs for the disadvantaged. First, where the services of uniquely qualified minority citizens—often ghetto residents themselves—are needed for the effective implementation of special college programs, district and state professional certification requirements loom as barriers to their employment. Second, most programs for the disadvantaged show a continuing high turnover of personnel. Staff interviews suggest that committed individuals soon wear emotionally thin. Many shift to other educational duties, some move to develop similar programs elsewhere, and a few drop away from teaching altogether. Since these programs are viewed as requiring intensive dedication, constant staff replacement is considered counter-productive for the long-term effectiveness of these special programs. Finally, a significant number of interviewees saw traditional operational procedures—student contact hours, class load limitations, attendance regulations, and

admissions requirements—as growing impediments to the effectiveness of onging special educational programs.

Lack of formal program evaluation over time. Few programs attempt to develop reliable criteria for measuring effectiveness, or attempt to build student control groups into the design of experimental or pilot projects. While a few descriptive program features indicate something about student development—changes in grade point average, individual persistence, or student "success stories"—respondents report little concerted effort to integrate overall program development with procedures for program assessment.

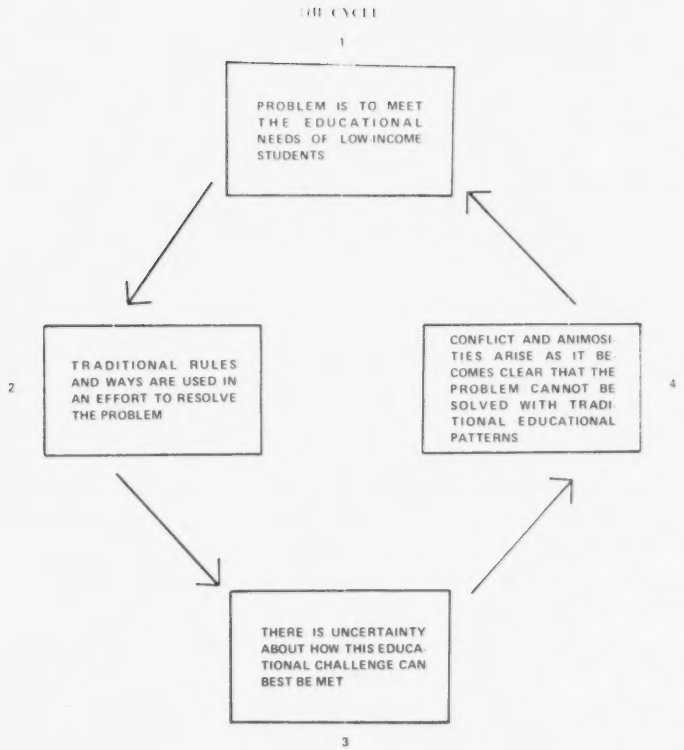
By confronting social change in the urban ghetto, big city community colleges have inherited the legacy of the years of not completely successful toil of the many agents and agencies who worked for reform in the much broader area of urban social problems in America. Thus, concerns and frustrations are not new. What is new is the role of equal access, comprehensive peoples' colleges in attempting to adapt to the needs of the ghetto community on its own terms—to become, as Cosand (1971) hopes, "change agents for the life of the community, the state, and the nation as a whole."

This mandate for change focuses increasingly on totally new and different approaches to the education of the disadvantaged, and the wrench from traditional methodology to the startlingly new in urban higher education sharpens the old concerns and heightens the old frustrations.

The Cycle of Frustration

Analysis of the data indicated an almost lock-step sequence to certain situations and their consequences that accounts for the ineffectiveness of so many programs and services for disadvantaged students.

The process shown in the following diagram is designated "The Cycle of Frustration" because the same basic set of events is involved; the sequence of events is the same in each case; and the end


THE CYCLE
1
PROBLEM IS TO MEET THE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF LOW-INCOME STUDENTS
2
TRADITIONAL RULES AND WAYS ARE USED IN AN EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM
3
THERE IS UNCERTAINTY ABOUT HOW THIS EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGE CAN BEST BE MET
4
CONFLICT AND ANIMOSITIES ARISE AS IT BECOMES CLEAR THAT THE PROBLEM CANNOT BE SOLVED WITH TRADITIONAL EDUCATIONAL PATTERNS

is exacerbation rather than resolution of the problem. For a great number of programs observed by research teams, this cycle accurately depicts the events faced and the problems involved in developing effective educational programs for low-income students. A closer examination of the steps indicated in the diagram is presented here.

The Process of Frustration

The first step in the process of frustration is *the realization that a problem exists.* The needs of culturally and economically disadvantaged students challenge the existing programs, curricula, and educational objectives of many community colleges. Basically, these colleges were originally designed for white, working- or middle-class students who had had at least some small measure of

success in the school situation, and saw postsecondary education as a step toward better employment, more income, and a generally better life. But the ghetto student is strikingly different. He is generally a minority group member who holds distinctive norms and values about work, education, leisure, and dress. His school experiences have been studded with failures, his study habits are often virtually nonexistent, and he may, in fact, seriously question the value of education. His financial situation usually places very special demands on the college he attends, and normal financial assistance barely touches the wide range of support needs which this student brings to the inner-city community college.

Regardless of past or present levels of success (or failure) in serving low-income students, strong pressures are forcing urban districts to recognize the need to educate these students and to design appropriate programs and services for them. The sources of the pressures are many and varied. Fundamentally, the strongest pressures arise from the disadvantaged students themselves; other pressures seem to be reflections of this one force. For example, urban leaders are making greater efforts to meet with poor people and to develop educational plans more suited to their specific needs and a number of state and federal legislators are sponsoring legislation relevant to the educational needs of such people. In colleges and universities across the nation, programs are being designed and developed which will hopefully meet the needs and expectations of minority Americans—among them Black and Chicano Studies, multi-cultural studies, educational opportunity projects, and career development activities. But the activities of community leaders, legislators, and educators are reactions to a problem perceived and experienced by the poor themselves.

Second, with some notable exceptions, *present efforts have been inadequate to solve the problem.* On the whole, it seems apparent that college personnel are working in unfamiliar territory when it comes to developing programs especially suited to the problems presented by the low-income student. The amount of well-designed and carefully executed research on this topic is limited—largely because, until recent years, there was little demand either for programs for these students or for studies about them and their needs, and consequently there was meager political support for funding such studies. Moreover, researchers have traditionally

been preoccupied with basic research. Understandably, the immediate and practical usefulness of findings derived from such research may not be great when attempting to design a whole program or curricula for low-income and educationally underprepared students. Today, however, when equal educational opportunity has strong political as well as moral support, and the urge for action is great, the problem cannot be easily dismissed, either by researchers or practitioners.

The third step of the cycle indicates that most colleges provide little that is different for disadvantaged students or structure their "special effort" with simple modifications of traditional programs and curricula. Even inner-city community colleges, which face the greatest challenge for educating the majority of ghetto students, usually retain district similarities in types of traditional curricula, programs, counseling services, and financial aid to students. *It seems clear that when there is pressure to solve problems that are not well understood, the most convenient strategy is to apply solutions which have worked on familiar problems.*

Traditionally maintained campus-district relationships also affect programming for disadvantaged students. Usually the inner-city campus of a multi-unit district receives treatment little different from any other campus. Budget restrictions and overall accounting principles operate in the same way for all campuses, regardless of individual campus problems or needs. Similarly, although the educational functions of the district campuses can be extremely different, admissions and personnel policies, building and facilities standards, and equipment specifications vary little from one campus to another. As a consequence, fast and convenient means for dealing with the special problems of low-income students are often stifled at the outset.

The last step reaches a level of *obvious animosity on the part of people who hoped for aid and those who hoped to deliver it*. For the disadvantaged ghetto resident, the result is increased disenchantment and mistrust. For college program personnel, the result is the further debilitation of energies and a diminishing of the professional image. For both parties, ambitions are crushed and expectations are crumpled. The dimensions of the problems gradually widen, and the possibilities for answers narrow.

The situation generally is, then, that college personnel are largely unfamiliar with the nature of the problem although strong pressures from varied directions press for its solution. Because uncertainty invariably provokes anxiety, they are moved to take convenient and familiar problem-solving approaches, substituting tradition or expediency for innovation. This occurs within individual community colleges and receives reinforcement through district-wide practices and policies. The final step is the unsuccessful resolution of the situation. Thus the cycle is complete, from an initial recognition of the problem to its amplification.

6

Successful Programs

Several successful programs for low-income students were found in the six study districts. The five programs described in this chapter typify four different kinds of efforts to meet the needs of disadvantaged students—student recruitment, community outreach, the mini-college, and total institutional response.

RECRUITING FROM THE GHETTO

Black residential concentration in the central city ghettos in St. Louis and Cleveland dramatize the pressing need for a viable and adaptive service institution in the inner-city. The following demographic descriptions are designed to provide some perspective on the development of two thoughtfully-conceived community college outreach programs whose accomplishments to date allow for at least guarded optimism about their continued effectiveness.

In 1962, Forest Park Community College was established as an urban institution in St. Louis, Missouri. In the next eight years St. Louis city lost 11 percent of its population, largely because the white population moved to surrounding suburbs, and many industrial and commercial concerns soon followed. By 1970, the central city was inhabited by 87 percent of all metropolitan St. Louis blacks. It is estimated that by 1990 the central city will be virtually all black.

In 1970, the population density of St. Louis, an area of 62 square miles, averaged 10,766 persons per square mile. The black ghetto covers about one-third of the total area. In this section of the city, population density per square mile is not represented by the average, for nearly a quarter of a million black residents live in old, overcrowded, and substandard multiple housing units, at least 80 percent of which were constructed prior to 1940. Forest Park Community College today is located nearly one mile from this expanding ghetto, and nearly 50 percent of its 6000 student body is black.

In Cleveland, Ohio, population shifts in the past decade have followed the same pattern of ghettoization of black inhabitants. Metropolitan campus, the inner-city institution of Cuyahoga Community College, is located adjacent to the Hough and Glenville Districts, the heart of Cleveland's ghetto. In the first five years of Metro's operation, the city lost 65,000 residents, most of them white, to the suburbs. Today, nearly all of Cleveland's urban area black population live in the central city. As in St. Louis, residential confinement is in terms of overcrowded, substandard, high-rent dwellings. Congestion underscores the condition of human life. The Hough District, with a black population of 88.5 percent, houses approximately 28,000 persons per square mile. Adjacent Glenville District, with a per square mile density of 22,000, has a population of which 93.9 percent are black.

Locked within the boundaries of this uncompromising environment, black residents of inner-city St. Louis and Cleveland have often become lost in the surge of urban life. The community college outreach programs described below were designed to seek and find these disadvantaged citizens, and to provide them with equal educational opportunities.

Project AHEAD–St. Louis

Project AHEAD opened at Forest Park Community College (FPCC) in 1969. The ultimate objective of the project is to move fully prepared ghetto students either directly into local four-year institutions of higher education, or first into a special program

designed to place students in programs which often lead to an associate degree. Sponsored primarily by the Higher Education Coordinating Council (HECC) of Metropolitan St. Louis, the project is supported by grants from both the Ford and Danforth Foundations. Its unique feature is the inter-institutional cooperation of junior and senior colleges and universities in the Greater St. Louis area (AHEAD Proposal, 1969), each of which is actively involved in all phases of a student's development–from initial application to the community college through graduation from senior college.

Project AHEAD staff have initially selected black male students who are highly motivated and who meet the entrance requirements of FPCC–a physical examination, submission of high school transcripts or GED test scores, and the SCAT diagnostic evaluation. In the project's pilot year, 1969-1970, this special educational program enrolled 328 students.

Those students who appear in the lowest one-third of their high school graduating class and score below the 10th percentile on the SCAT test are placed in the college General Curriculum (Moore, 1969), a widely noted remedial/developmental program designed to aid all FPCC students with limited educational backgrounds.

The General Curriculum has non-credit status and is mandatory for students in need of developmental skills. The programs of some AHEAD students may combine learning skills in the General Curriculum and credit-bearing offerings (college transfer courses). Each student, in effect, is given a program suited to his personal needs and capabilities. No student is assigned to a course until he qualifies and unless it is agreed that he might be successful. Project personnel attempt to guide students to the right places at the right times to insure success in the learning experience.

The AHEAD staff is small but effective, and includes five coordinators, two counselors, and two secretaries, selected by the project director. Most of the certificated staff members are blacks who have had experience with ghetto residence. These individuals divide responsibilities three ways:

1. Much of the success of the project has been attributed to the work of special Junior-Senior College Coordinators who act as liaison between the project, area colleges and universities, and the

larger community of St. Louis. They also recruit, teach, tutor, supervise, counsel, assist in educational planning, and provide information for students about cooperating colleges and universities. Coordinators also act as sponsors and advisors to students who transfer to the coordinators' respective campuses. These staff specialists hold faculty positions at local senior institutions, but are on loan to AHEAD and to FPCC for the duration of the project.

2. Project counselors, like coordinators, assist students with career planning and adjustment to the college environment, and remain as counselors for those students who select FPCC as their choice for degree and certificate training. An important counselor responsibility is to chair project teams, composed of Junior-Senior College Coordinators and certain of the faculty from the FPCC General Curriculum, who meet regularly about the progress of specific students.

3. The Project AHEAD director administers the program under the authority of the president of Forest Park Community College, acts as liaison between the FPCC administration and the Policy Board of the sponsoring HECC, and in general provides leadership for the total effort.

Financially, Project AHEAD is supported by both the Ford and Danforth Foundations, through the HECC, which officially received the initial twoyear grant. Ford Foundation monies ($400,000) provide the basic support for staff salaries, office materials, and travel allowances. Some additional support is provided by St. Louis Junior College District Trustees in the form of salaries for clerical staff and administrative office space and equipment. Danforth Foundation monies, approximately $50,000 for each of two years, provide a stipend equal to one-half the tuition fee (one-half of $156) for each student attending FPCC.

Other sources of support have become increasingly available as the project has developed successfully. Donations from church groups, voluntary associations, private corporations, government agencies, and individual contributors have supplemented the costs of tuition and textbooks, and have resulted in the establishment of the Project AHEAD Scholarship Fund. The Work Incentive Program (WIN), a cooperative effort between the Missouri State Employment Service and the Missouri Division of Welfare, also has assisted many

students, particularly unwed mothers. The WIN pays half of tuition, purchases books, pays transportation, and assures students a modest monthly stipend during their enrollment. The Human Development Corporation, a local extension of the Office of Economic Opportunity, pays one-half the local tuition fees, purchases books, and assists with transportation. And the St. Louis Junior College District provides a 90-day loan fund on a one-time basis for AHEAD students unable to pay tuition when they enter the program.

Evaluation of Project AHEAD has been made on the basis of student follow-ups and relatively discernible achievement factors. An organized system of student and institutional feedback is part of Project AHEAD assessment, and in the pilot year some measures of success were evident (AHEAD Annual Report, 1970). Of the 242 students who entered in fall 1969, 143 continued into the second semester. Of those who dropped out, almost half are working. An additional 20 percent of those who dropped out are either in military service or have transferred to college programs not included in the HECC-FPCC relationship. One-third of those who dropped out planned to return soon to Project AHEAD, and the majority of those who were working indicated that their experience with the project had given them job competency and a new sense of personal worth. Moreover, in the first year a total of 42 students had earned four-year scholarships at several local senior colleges and universities. Like many other ghetto students now enrolled in AHEAD, the majority of these scholarship students had not planned to continue with any post high school education. After only a year of operation, then, AHEAD staff sensed a breakthrough in meeting the higher education needs of the disadvantaged.

Project Search–Cleveland

Project Search is a comprehensive educational counseling service provided by the Cuyahoga Community College for residents of Cleveland's Hough District. The basic objectives of the counseling service are to train, finance, place, and psychologically support ghetto students in all educational environments–public and private schools, senior colleges and universities, special training institutes,

and proprietary schools—which may lead to gainful employment.

Because Project Search operates in a variety of ways to meet the educational and training needs of a black ghetto population, recipients of its service are more properly considered clientele than students. These clientele presently include high school graduates and dropouts, people whose educational deficiencies have kept them unemployed or underemployed, those who do not know of educational opportunities or cannot afford them, and individuals whose families rely on welfare payment as the primary source of support.

A recent progress report (Search Annual Report, 1969) shows that at least half of Project Search clients are high school dropouts or low-achieving graduates between 20 and 30 years of age. Seventy-five percent of these are women (indicating the high male transiency of the inner-city), 20 percent had not completed high school, and nearly 90 percent had never attended college. Search clientele are also extremely poor; in 1969, nearly 70 percent were recipients of public welfare. Of those who did work full time, two-thirds were earning the $3800 a year established by the federal government as the poverty level, or below.

Initiated in 1967, Project Search is administered as part of the Office of Community Services of Cuyahoga Community College (CCC), although it operates as an off-campus facility sponsored and advised by many important Cleveland community agencies and organizations. The all black staff consists of the project director, a secretary, three male counselors, two counselor-aides, and two high school student aides. The black Advisory Committee for the project convenes monthly to review objectives, activities, policies, and procedures. The Search director is responsible directly to the Dean of Community Services of the CCC, and the Search Advisory Committee for the presentation and analysis of monthly progress reports.

Search practices relentless community recruitment. Residents are sought out by blanket mailing, telephoning, and door-to-door solicitation. Initially, Search recruitment took the form largely of personal visits by staff to hundreds of Hough homes. In recent years, however, client referral has become the primary source of recruitment; up to one-half of all clients are now referred by relatives

and friends who have benefited from the project. Present records show that more than 1100 Hough residents have enrolled in the project as a result of the recruitment process (Search Annual Report, 1970).

Counseling is the key to the success of Search. Clients are assigned counselors at the point of intake, beginning a highly individualistic and continuous process of "interrelating" until such time as the client decides the service is no longer necessary. Clients are not pre-judged on the basis of prior education or career evaluations, and interviews are low-key and non-threatening.

Counselors perform a number of important "prep" duties for clients, including securing admission to appropriate educational institutions and training programs. In addition, counselors keep current reliable career information, maintain continuous relationships with organizations and services which can be of assistance in serving the total needs of clients, and adhere to a regular schedule of follow-ups of clients' progress.

Non-enrolled counselees also are aided by Search staff. For many Hough residents, educational decisions must be postponed for a variety of personal problems, including lack of child care, legal entanglement, and poor physical health. Project records nevertheless indicate a steady progression of client enrollment after postponement.

The academic problems of counselees in training are effectively handled through the use of many voluntary tutorial services. The student University Christian Movement is the largest effort of this kind and has organized the service for Search enrollees at CCC. The Movement enlists the aid not only of CCC students, but also of volunteers from the nearby NASA laboratories, from local public and private senior institutions, and from the National Teachers Corps. Counseling services and tutorial aid evidently do effectively assist project clients with academic, career, personal, and social adjustment problems as these individuals take their life experiences with them into the classroom.

Several sources of funding have been available to Project Search. Support comes primarily from a combination of two institutionally-administered federal programs—Educational Opportunity Grants and National Defense Student Loans. More

modest support is obtained from private and municipal welfare agencies, and through grants from national professional associations, such as the Nursing Student Loan fund and the Nursing Education Opportunity Program. By 1970, approximately $115,000 had been obtained from the professional organizations.

The Project Search Fund itself, established during the initial year of the operation, has been another important source of support, and has steadily grown in substance and diversification of use. The basic purpose of the fund has been to provide financial aid for needy student clients who could not receive assistance from the other sources, such as part-time students, students who need supplemental funding, students with police records, and students on academic probation. Many and diverse community organizations and individuals provide revenue to maintain the fund, and the general response by foundations, scholarship organizations, and other civic-minded groups to requests for educational fiscal support has been notable. Revenue for the fund totaled more than $60,000 in 1970.

Support has additionally come from other urban educational institutions which have provided supplemental funding from their own budgets to aid clients enrolled on their respective campuses. Indirectly this is accomplished through forgiveness for tuition and fees; directly, by mini-grants to individuals for books and supplies. Aid of this kind is often in the form of combinations of grants and loans for fees, tuition, books, and supplies.

Project Search has been evaluated largely on the basis of student persistence and achievement in training programs extending over several years. Semester and quarterly achievement records are kept for all clients attending local educational institutions. Generally, clients have continued to achieve at a favorable level throughout each school term, and those who have experienced temporary difficulty have been provided with the necessary supportive and remedial services. By 1970, approximately 80 percent of clients enrolling in all educational institutions in the Cleveland area had opted for programs offered at CCC, which has maintained a dramatic retention rate of 70 percent of Project Search clientele, whose mean gpa for the life of the project has been 2.02.

Search client enrollment is distributed among 27 additional schools in the greater Cleveland area, where retention rates in three

different categories of training institutions are indicative both of the holding power of these schools and the motivation of student clients (Search Annual Report, 1970): senior private and public institutions (58 students), 96 percent; Cleveland Board of Education (27 students), 54 percent; community and proprietary schools (11 students), 91 percent. For all programs in these three categories of institutions, students have achieved at the 2.00 gpa level.

CONCLUSIONS ABOUT PROJECT AHEAD AND PROJECT SEARCH

The following related factors appear to contribute to the present success of both projects for the disadvantaged, and suggest implications for the future roles and missions of urban community colleges.

♦ *Cooperative funding*

The educational and training efforts of autonomous and independent institutions can combine to result in an effective cooperative program of community support. There are three important aspects to this comparatively new arrangement. Program innovations can be tried and examined in new organizational environments which have few established procedures and regulations about the allocation and distribution of monies; no one institution, such as an inner-city community college, for example, is required to bear the total financial burden for an urban service program which enhances the social and cultural life of all community residents; and extra-institutional funding gives urban community colleges time to watch and assess the effectiveness of the program so that trustees and appropriate administrative staff can develop the modified district policies and procedures designed to enlarge their area of educational responsibility.

In most respects, the additional factors which follow are functions of this key feature of Projects AHEAD and Search.

♦ *Cooperative programming*

Metropolitan agencies and institutions have organized with considerable success to coordinate their own unique competencies

and orientations with those of inner-city community colleges to formally cooperate in city-wide efforts to meet the education and training needs of the ghetto. Not only public segments of higher education, but also municipal agencies, private corporations, voluntary agencies, and secular associations have integrated efforts to bring financial support and organizational viability to Projects Search and AHEAD. In doing so, each has apparently recognized that the responsibility for change in the life style of the ghetto can be appropriately and effectively shared to the benefit of all concerned.

♦ *Community support*

A significant feature of project service is the positive interrelationships established and maintained with agencies, commercial institutions, voluntary associations, and civic-minded individuals in the larger urban community. Inner-city community college staff members, acting as liaison, provide the glue which attach these common interests to clients' needs. Civic involvement is quite diverse, and includes advisory committees, association endorsements of project objectives and philosophies, provision of potential employment opportunities for institution graduates, sponsorship and fiscal support of specific educational programs, and aid given by specific individuals to students in financial need. The urban communities served by both Project AHEAD and Project Search have been generous with financial support, and requests for future educational funding seem likely to be met with a favorable response.

♦ *Staff selection*

Project staff are chosen by the director by highly select criteria related to an understanding of the ghetto condition. In this instance, district staff recruitment policies and procedures have been temporarily furloughed, although at the same time personnel so selected are carefully oriented to the overall policies, regulations, and procedures both of the planned project and the community college district. Staff members work to develop more effective techniques for recruiting ghetto residents within the framework of community college philosophy and orientation to democratic service.

Particularly for the recruitment effort of Projects AHEAD and Search, staff rapidly developed a high disappointment threshold and a practiced tolerance for two chronic conditions they

encountered: a high pre-program dropout syndrome and the apathy and hesitancy of ghetto residents toward public service aid.

♦ *Understanding the ghetto*

Project staff are familiar with the life style of the people they are attempting to reach, and within the boundaries of which they must find their support if project and community college goals are to be realized. District and campus administrations have sought out and sponsored project personnel from ghetto backgrounds for their insight into the fear, distrust, and apathy which are features of ghetto reaction to most public agency aid. Open and viable communication with the ghetto community is increasingly recognized by college administrators as the always critical problem, and every means has been utilized in Projects AHEAD and Search to escape any possible charge of cavalier and condescending treatment of ghetto counselees.

Here also, district policies regulating staff schedules with respect to hours on campus, work week, and office hours have been temporarily relaxed so that the highly mobile, small, and flexible project task forces can work effectively within the quite different ghetto life style.

♦ *Peer tutoring*

Many of the tutors for Projects AHEAD and Search are volunteer peers who have adapted to the rigors of institutional training. Community college district and campus administrators and other involved staff have strongly supported this service, and have made whatever arrangements are necessary for its continued success on and off college facilities.

Generally, tutors have related to project clients on more than a subject-matter basis. In recognizing the need to assist disadvantaged students in their adjustment to a new academic role, tutors' efforts have often been directed toward assisting clients with personal and social adjustment problems.

♦ *Long-range planning*

Programs for the disadvantaged are planned in developmental stages designed to cover a period of several years. In 1970, Project

Search graduated its first group of students from various urban training programs. Similarly, Project AHEAD is presently looking several years into the future to the graduation of its first groups of students from local senior institutions. Evaluations of students and of student-staff relationships, particularly in the initial years of the projects, have been allowed to utilize criteria other than the normal community colleges measures of FTE, student-faculty ratios, class size limitations, and standard grading. Project staff and college administrations have seen clearly, at least in these cases, that the ghetto community cannot be moved to the acceptance of programs organized within the traditional frames of reference. Consequently, these personnel have moved rapidly, often audaciously, to an innovative stance.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CENTERS

The rapprochement between college services and community needs has been considered a hallmark of community college goals. As it relates in particular to the needs of inner-city residents, this objective assumes a prime importance in the development of a multi-unit district. This study has indicated that community outreach programs are far less successful than they might be, and that even the more notable of these operate in limited fashion. There are, however, some important exceptions.

One of the more significant efforts is the development and operation of a complex of neighborhood outreach centers in Oakland, California. Initiated in 1967 by the Peralta Community College System, the Development Centers program is part of the larger Inner-City Project (ICP) developed by the Peralta System as a comprehensive urban demonstration effort to serve a variety of educational needs of disadvantaged residents. Begun in early 1968 and funded initially with a half-million dollar OEO grant, ICP includes four basic parts: A student service corps to carry on work-study programs of community outreach, development, and service in the inner-city; a cultural enrichment program to provide workshops in art, music, and drama–to be supplemented by recreational, social-cultural, and educational experiences at the block, neighborhood, and community levels; a

scholarship-subsistence program to provide financial assistance to residents of the inner-city who wish to attend college to prepare themselves for careers in public service; and community development centers to provide educational and counseling services in the inner-city. Because the community development centers are the most strategically and sensitively placed feature of the ICP, they are the focus of this chapter, which is concerned with reaching out and beyond.

The ICP and the Development Centers program have been the subject of other recent studies, including those by Elsner, 1970; Shired, 1969; Tillery, 1969; and Toney & Wright, 1969. These reports give a considerable amount of information, both descriptive and evaluative, about each part of the Inner-City Project. The present study differs from these in that it not only describes the nature of this program and highlights the main features of development centers, but moves beyond to analyze those factors which appear to account for their success. The analysis undertaken here, however, would not have been possible without the valuable information and insights provided by earlier studies.

Basically, six features define the unique aspects of the Development Centers program. The centers are located in already available buildings, often dilapidated, in depressed areas of the city. These facilities are divided into different types of space, such as traditional classrooms; arts and crafts work areas; display, meeting, conference rooms; and staff offices.

The centers are also invariably in special locations in the city. The four target areas chosen in Oakland for development centers all have, in general, a high concentration of minority groups, a high unemployment rate, significantly low average annual family income, and high crime rates.

Development Centers are very dependent on their resident staff, whose sensitiveness and background are critical to the success of outreach programs. On the average, the staff numbers six, with a heavy representation from minority groups, and includes, basically, a director, a secretary, and four others who serve as liaison with the local community. Classes, normally staffed by faculty drawn from the colleges of the district, are taught in the Development Centers as well as at various locations throughout the city.

The centers' programs cover a wide span of interests, and are an authentic reflection of the diversity of the population of the target areas. The programs include sponsorship of cultural events, offering of regular college courses as well as special short-term courses and workshops, and provision of convenient meeting places at the centers for a number of community organizations.

The nature of their relationship to the Peralta Colleges is a special feature of the Development Centers. Although initially the centers reported directly to the district office, they now are supervised directly by one of the district campuses. Two centers are assigned to each of the two inner-city campuses of the Peralta College District, although the actual way in which the centers link to each campus differs somewhat.

To date, the Development Centers have a fairly impressive record of success. This is evident from the information provided in several different evaluation studies (Elsner, 1970; Tillery, 1969; and Toney & Wright, 1969), which reported on such matters as the nature of the courses offered, course attendance, use of the facility by various community groups, and visitors to the centers. It is important to note, however, that the centers are not equally successful; two of them were unusually effective. The reasons for these differences are examined below.

Initial Planning of the Inner-City Project

Key problems which plagued the initial designing and planning of the ICP also affected the formation of the embryonic Development Centers. During the drafting of the proposal for funding for the ICP, local community persons and college personnel were involved very little. This initial oversight laid the basis for a growing attitude of doubt about the ICP, and contributed in no small way to the project's slow and faltering beginning. It is understandable that, after the initial proposal was drafted and circulated, reactions came quickly from the disadvantaged communities, largely in the form of demands that they be in the design of the project.

Many also felt that IC[illegible]ogram plans were too vague. Questions were raised about the [illegible]nters' specific objectives, about

the recruitment and appointment of professional staff, and about what the relationships were to be between individual campuses, district office, the local communities, and the ICP. What was requested, in short, was much more detail about the centers' role and function.

There was considerable concern that the proposal for ICP gave insufficient recognition to resources and programs already in existence at the separate campuses of the district. Claiming overlap, duplication, and waste, some college staffs argued that many of the key features of the ICP already existed in ongoing curricula and services, and that new programs and services should be built on these bases.

The First Year of the Development Centers

As the Development Centers began their first year of operation, the need to strengthen relationships with the local communities was so acutely evident that several steps were taken to establish and maintain closer ties.

For example, even before the year began, ICP staff met community demands for greater involvement in two important ways.

1. A Community Advisory Committee was established to provide advice and counsel to the ICP on a regular basis. The advisory committee comprised twelve community representatives and eleven members of the Peralta Colleges staff. An important recommendation of this advisory committee was to build four rather than the two planned development centers.

2. A Personnel Screening Committee, composed of five community members and four members of the Peralta District staff, was appointed to play a major role in developing personnel procedures and in the screening and selection of ICP personnel.

During the year, other measures were taken within communities to build support for the centers. Each center made considerable effort to establish a clear and continuous liaison with its

local community. Surveys were frequently conducted—by mail, questionnaire, and/or personal interview—to identify the educational needs of the local residents and any other interests they might have in the centers. These surveys also helped center staffs to keep informed about the kinds of programs that might be designed to meet these needs.

Citizen curriculum committees were established both on a standing and ad hoc basis to advise on the variety of courses, workshops, seminars, and community meetings that would be appropriate to the interests of local people. In addition, advice on curricular and related matters was obtained from center-servicing faculty by way of a faculty response committee established at each center. The function of this committee was to discuss curricular matters, to examine possible areas of financial support, and to provide suggestions about the availability of staff.

To build political, social, and educational bases through the support and commitment of key local community leaders, some centers made a special effort to involve community leaders regularly in center activities even before their official opening, and encouraged community organizations to use their facilities for community meetings.

Despite the success in developing strong local ties, however, several problems plagued the centers during the first year of operation. Demographically and socioeconomically, Oakland is marked by wide variations in the clientele served by different Development Centers. Although a northern city section, for example, has a high unemployment rate, extensive poverty, and significantly low family incomes, it is essentially conservative and conventional. Once white and middle-class, it is still a largely residential area, with a population somewhat older than the average, and there has been a continuing radical-conservative split between this adult population in the local community and the activist student body at the local community college. Overall, while this northern section can be considered a poverty area, its social character is such that it does not express feelings of dire needs or pressing frustrations.

The disadvantaged communities in the western section of the city are significantly different. This area has been saturated throughout the past decade with largely unsuccessful federal aid programs, and residents have been chronically disenchanted, since

raised hopes have consistently been quashed by what turned out to be empty promises. The combination of these two factors—program saturation and disappointment—has led to great skepticism about any and all federally sponsored aid programs. From this area emerged some of the first complaints about lack of community involvement in the design and early development of the center serving that section. These community feelings grew increasingly resentful, with the major effect being a general slow-down of the center's development.

During the first year, personnel changes plagued the Development Centers. The considerable turnover of key administrative personnel in the first few months of the ICP created uncertainty and a lack of continuity in the determination of policy, and there was continuing disagreement about the mission and role of the centers. Some held that they should function as extension centers of the district colleges, with the majority of programs offered either for degree-credit or essentially identical to those offered in the extended day program. Others felt that they should function mainly as community annexes, fully concerned with the needs and problems of local residents.

The acquisition of suitable space, which is both scarce and expensive, developed as a major problem for some centers. The western section center in particular suffered from not receiving full support from its host campus, where faculty and administration were slow to offer encouragement or resources.

Reorganization

Center staffs gained valuable insights in the first year of operation. As a consequence, they found effective ways of involving community leaders and organizations and saw the necessity for clarifying and strengthening relationships between centers, campuses, and the district office. In effect, these new arrangements erased direct administrative lines between the district office and the Development Centers, and brought closer ties between host campus officials and center staffs. It had also become clear that employment policies and practices had to be reappraised and restructured, and exceptions countenanced by the district office; the kinds of persons

who could best function in the Development Centers were not necessarily those who could meet the state's normal certification requirements. And the centers also became more responsive to the wide range of community needs, and both increased and diversified their courses, workshops, seminars, and other special programs.

Despite such major reassessments and gains, however, the Development Centers suffered from persistent problems after nearly two years of operation. Because there has never been a design and a system for continuous evaluation of the ICP and the individual centers, this major oversight has been a source of weakness in the entire ICP enterprise. The importance of program evaluation cannot be overestimated as funding sources increase their press for cost benefit ratio comparisons. A related concern is the increasingly serious criticism of the fiscal and personnel management of ICP programs by district and lay sources. Both short-term and long-term financial support are required for the future, even though the half-million dollar budget is being partially assumed by the Peralta District. It is also a problem that many Oakland poverty areas still remain unaffected and untouched by the work of Development Centers and the ICP. If they were to desire it and financing were available, other ghetto areas within the city could profit from a widened ICP enterprise.

Present Status

The several evaluations mentioned earlier (Elsner, 1970; Tillery, 1969; and Toney & Wright, 1969) have been helpful in analyzing project growth. These, together with the information from other advisors and consultants to the ICP staff, have helped to identify new areas for future project development. But several problems loom as possible impediments to further growth.

There is still concern, for instance, about the relationship between the East Bay Skills Center (EBSC) and the Development Centers. Originally conceived of as an additional but quite comprehensive training facility attached to the Peralta Colleges, the EBSC has nevertheless moved rapidly to a position of fiscal and curricular autonomy from the Peralta District. This has raised the

critical question of program overlap and duplication with Peralta college campuses because the EBSC trains and re-trains unemployed persons referred by the State Human Resources Development Department, whereas the Development Centers, as originally designed, also serve as training centers in various basic skills. To be decided now is whether the centers should expand their training activities so as to relate to similar but more comprehensive programs at the EBSC, or refrain from doing so because of the risk of duplicating programs characterized largely by expensive training hardware and high salaried craftsmen.

Uncertainties are also being generated by the district's money-saving plan to combine its four centers—two of which were more successful than the others—into two highly productive centers in different parts of the city. For the time being, the centers will continue to be administered by their own directors, but in one facility featuring some form of cooperative activity. What kind of internal personnel problems will arise is not clear, nor is it certain that Oakland ghetto residents can be as effectively served by the new combined form.

The role of Development Centers also may change when, according to district master plans, "home" campuses change location. The centers may end up serving substantially more central city students who will find it difficult to travel to the new college location in the Oakland foothills—an area not well served by public transportation. The result may be that the remaining "flatland" facilities, in no way prepared to meet the educational needs of a very large student body, will be overwhelmed with tremendous enrollments. With this problem immediately facing the district, planning is crucial.

CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT CENTERS

An assessment of the Peralta District Development Centers through their initial design, first year of operation, and subsequent period of development, leads to five major generalizations that can be made about similar programs in urban community colleges.

♦ *Community Involvement*

Community involvement throughout the design and development of outreach programs is extremely important. The advice and counsel of informed citizens can add immeasurably to the quality of community-based programs, and systematic participation by community leaders from the beginning of such programs generates significant bases of support throughout the community.

♦ *Program Initiation*

New community outreach programs initiated only by district staff can generate significant resentment and reluctance among both local citizens and campus personnel. An approach is needed to insure that the primary responsibility for the design and development of community programs will rest with local community residents.

♦ *Extant Resources*

The resources (people, money, facilities, equipment) required are likely to be varied and often in limited supply. Every effort should be made to draw on all extant resources on campus. If carefully executed, this step may not only turn up invaluable material assets, but also develop important bases of support for new programs throughout the district (on campuses and in the district office).

♦ *Professional Recognition*

Since it is unlikely that many of the staff needed for community outreach will be drawn from existing campus facilities, certification policies and other personnel practices should be reassessed. Beyond this, however, it is necessary to work toward changing present faculty attitudes toward a "new breed" of professionals. To achieve acceptance and recognition for these new professionals, special efforts may be necessary to communicate the nature and value of community outreach programs to traditional college faculties.

♦ *District Organization Structure*

Given the current limited information about many of the conditions necessary for success in programming to meet urban

educational needs, the greatest support (hiring outstanding people, providing adequate financial aid) and the most flexible intra-district structure are needed. Every effort should be made, therefore, to exempt new community programs from strict district personnel practices, formula budgets, and cost/benefit analyses.

THE MINI-COLLEGE PROGRAM

North Campus of the Miami-Dade Junior College District began as a single operation in 1960—the Dade County Junior College—in the rapidly developing northeastern sector of metropolitan Miami. The institution enjoyed great success there during a combined industrial/manufacturing and suburban population growth in the decade which followed. It is now among the largest junior colleges in the nation, with more than 18,000 students and an educational plant covering 245 acres.

Today, as one of three campuses in the expanded metropolitan community college district, North Campus functions largely as the public technical-industrial training center for thousands of residents of urban Miami. In recent years, as the city has experienced a heavy in-migration of blacks and Cuban refugees, this institution has initiated special developmental programs designed to attract large numbers of the Miami community who, for many reasons, cannot meet traditional college entrance requirements.

Data drawn from a biographical survey of all North Campus students (1969) showed that approximately 10 percent were black, one-fifth were married, with families to support, and nearly 30 percent were part-time students over 25 years of age. One-third of the students had parents who did not complete high school, over one-fourth came from homes in which no English was spoken, one-sixth received below-average grades in senior high school, one-third were members of families whose annual income was below the national family average, and fully one-half were from families with annual incomes at or below the national non-farm poverty level.

COMMUNITY COLLEGE STUDIES PROGRAM—NORTH CAMPUS

Initiated in the fall of 1969, Community College Studies (CCS) is an innovative program of compensatory, remedial education

designed to provide a comprehensive training year for students whose college indicators show little or no chance for success. A select faculty works to enhance the self-image and personal esteem of disadvantaged students and to encourage the establishment of realistic and meaningful vocational and academic goals.

The program is open to all students who fall below the 25th percentile on the Florida Twelfth Grade Achievement Test, an instrument constructed in recent years to establish state college entrance norms, and to students referred by high school counselors as "very high risk." The 1969-1970 experimental year began with 450 randomly chosen students, the majority of whom were white, 30 percent black, and nearly 20 percent Cuban.

The 450 students were divided into four sections of approximately 113 each. Each section was assigned to a team of five specialists in English/Communications, Reading Remediation, Counseling, Social Science, and Natural Science, and then subdivided into five smaller groups of 23 members each. Each of these groups meets with each team specialist at least four hours every week. To encourage individualized instruction and greater interpersonal involvement, student groups divide further into learning modules of eight to ten members each, which are taught by volunteer student peers under the direction of a team specialist. In addition, the program provides black and Cuban students the opportunity to study social issues with all-black or bilingual team specialists and other college faculty.

Section courses are block-scheduled and emphasize an interdisciplinary approach to learning. Instruction is centered closely around interpersonal relations, for which staff have been selected not only for academic competency but also for substantial experience in guidance and counseling. The student-faculty relationship is developed and fostered in an atmosphere of warmth, cooperation, and security. The tone of the program is set to move disadvantaged students away from the traditional image of "remedial" offerings, and to develop in every possible way an attitude of success. A student who does poorly in the first term of this program receives an "incomplete" for his grade and is urged to continue his efforts. In this way, he moves at the rate of growth he can handle; the CCS program will not allow students to fail.

Behavioral Goals of the CCS Program

The Community College Studies program follows the behavioral objectives approach. Individual growth and change are demonstrated by meeting measurable goals. The program meets many of the broad general education objectives of the twoyear public college, and students achieve the goals of the comprehensive program either by staying at North Campus to finish a certificate or degree program, or by leaving campus to enter employment or education elsewhere. Course objectives are met according to written specifications. Performance is judged in comparison with control group students in terms of significant differences of statistical measurements, e.g., standardized pre- and post-tests. For example, a student in the English/Communications component of the program will demonstrate growth as measured by such verbal ability tests as STEP (writing), the California Language Test (1963 norms), and local pre- and post-course writing requirements. In the Social Sciences component, behavioral objectives reflect the ability of the student (a) to understand the nature of his community, (b) to relate his personal problems to those held collectively by his generation as well as society, and (c) to be exposed to some of the solutions, agencies, etc., that have evolved through man's efforts to come to grips with his problems.

Finally, a Career Counseling component serves as the central function of program objectives. CCS students are aided in strengthening positive concepts of self-awareness and self-image and thereby in identifying realistic and feasible career choices. The intensive individual and group counseling attempts to make the adjustment to both college life and future employment more secure. In this global advising effort, the counselor is a leader who helps direct and integrate the roles of other team members.

The College-Within-a-College

The CCS program operates apart from the regular curriculum at North Campus. Many college services minister to its very special needs in the following ways:

1. Students' vision is checked through the college health clinic, whose visiting staff includes local optometrists. For extended or immediate treatment of visual defects, care is provided by visual specialist graduates working under the sponsorship of a licensed optometrist in the college Allied Health Optometric Clinic. Deficiencies in general psychomotor skills are cared for through medically prescribed use of equipment and techniques, with referrals to local physicians.

2. A special CCS reading clinic supplements the regular college remedial reading program. The clinic functions both diagnostically and therapeutically; clinic specialists, working with a staff optometrist, when necessary, plan visitations on an individual basis for the student with poor reading capability. Records indicate that several students were able to cover as many as four grades in one year.

3. The college Office of Student Personnel Services also offers special comprehensive career counseling to all CCS students. Occupational training recommendations are made on the basis of the student's aptitude, personal case history, and grades on selected standardized tests. Current listings of available occupations keep the student aware of possible career choices, and the college Division of Technical, Vocational, and Semiprofessional Studies also provides individual career counseling and supplements the CCS program with field trips to business and industrial firms, visiting consultants, and commercial spokesmen and recruiters.

4. Visiting lecturers and consultants for forum presentations and small group projects are brought by the college Divisions of Social Science and Natural Science, and staff members supervise field studies and offer graphic presentations in the use of scientific skills applied to modern needs.

5. Volunteer student assistants give CCS modular learning segments special tutoring under the sponsorship and the guidance of CCS staff specialists, and are provided by Operation Student Concern, an organization functioning as part of the Community Services Division.

6. The CCS program cooperates with the Office of Student Activities in financing and developing a program of consultants and guest speakers for the entire college. In the 1969-1970 year, CCS independently sponsored a Black Relevance Week and the college anti-pollution campaign, and was instrumental in the successful outcome of other campuswide activities.

7. As CCS students develop interests in specific academic and occupational programs, they are urged to visit classes in the regular college. This activity, institutionalized with the support of regular North Campus staff members, under the title, "Exploratory Institute," has already moved some CCS students into degree and certificate programs in less time than the compensatory year.

An important corollary to the CCS intensive program is that students and faculty in this mini-college program have seemed to establish bases for the strong personal and professional attachments required to generate lasting trust and growth. Since the Community College Studies staff specialists and students function as a separate unit within the overall North Campus organizational structure, personal relationships within this unit tend to be close and cohesive. There is keen but good-natured competition among the four program sections, and newsletters from each section announce weekly topical events which take place both at the college and in urban Miami, and serve as well as a vehicle for general communication within the CCS program. Campus and district administrators are often asked to provide its editorial comment. College-wide social activities are independently sponsored by CCS, in addition to its own closed functions, and informal socializing takes place in facilities often especially assigned to CCS students and staff.

The Community College Studies program holds departmental status under the Office of Student Personnel Services, and its program chairman acts in direct responsibility to the Dean of Student Personnel Services. The program is supported primarily through district funds by an arrangement which makes available 5 percent of the campus operational budget for responding to newly identified needs through the development of special programs. In accordance with district policy, final decisions regarding all new

programs are made by the Dean of Academic Affairs. Outside funds for additional program support are presently being negotiated to add to CCS's initial funding of a quarter of a million dollars.

The evaluation of the CCS program features a unique comparison of the student experimental group with two student control groups. Control Group One consists of an equal number of students (450) in the same ability category with those enrolled in the North Campus English and Mathematics remedial offerings. Control Group Two is made up of 200 students from the same ability group as those allowed to enroll in the regular college-level course offerings of the college. Present plans are to continue the assessment of effectiveness over a period of several years.

The final report and evaluation of CCS's pilot year (Losak & Burns, 1970) showed that experimental group students earned a higher percentage of above-average grades than did control group students; that black and female experimental group students, in particular, appeared to profit more than did black and female control group students; and that more black experimental group students returned to enroll at North Campus the following fall term than did black students from both control groups.

CCS staff and district research personnel are now modifying initial study methodology and measures to derive more useful generalizations and to make operation in the future more effective.

The CCS program, then, has been designed to directly improve the chance for success at North Campus of all disadvantaged students by substantially reducing the normally high attrition rates for the disadvantaged, and redirecting student aspirations toward more reasonable educational goals and future careers. In the Community College Studies program, "careers" is understood in the broadest sense and is not restricted to "vocational." In time, this mini-college program can provide more realistic criteria for placing students in appropriate programs, as well as generate more effective educational tools for the staff to use in instructing future students.

CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE STUDIES PROGRAM

From an assessment of the pilot year of the mini-college approach taken by the Community College Studies program of North

Campus, five key innovative features emerge which may have value for personnel in other urban districts with similar community needs.

♦ *Interdisciplinary Team Instruction*

Five highly qualified instructors constitute each of the instructional teams and interact continuously to produce a unified approach to students and their needs. The effort of each team is interdisciplinary in that it breaks down the artificial barriers to learning posed by the conventional departmental approach, and fosters a cooperative and integrated relationship among the different service personnel who represent subject matter, counseling and guidance, and clinical responsibilities.

♦ *Small Group Methods*

Student-faculty interaction is characterized by dialogue and interpersonal relations in working groups of less than 25 members. Often these groups fragment into smaller, more intimate associations of eight or nine members to pursue special interdisciplinary programs, e.g., black social issues. Because security and trust are the key personal inputs in group activities, student peer tutors are highly important to sub-group membership.

♦ *Behavioral Objectives Approach*

The new compensatory educational program takes a different approach to remediation of the disadvantaged. The CCS behavioral objectives of the English, Social Science, and Natural Science courses are the same as the objectives for the college-level courses. They are in no way less substantial preparatory offerings. The remediation in terms of alternate paths to objectives takes place through additional hours in classrooms and laboratories, developmental clinics, individualized instruction and tutoring, and additional diagnostic testing.

♦ *Controlled Evaluation*

Through the use of student experimental and control groups, research is being conducted for several years to determine whether or not the innovative approach used in the CCS program does in fact improve disadvantaged students' opportunity for success as well as

decrease the attrition rate among such clientele. When the research is completed, and if it demonstrates that the CCS program increases opportunities for success in college in more effective fashion than traditional remedial offerings, the college administration plans for its adoption for all disadvantaged students at the North Campus.

♦ *Special District Funding*

All students living at the national poverty level in the Miami-Dade Junior College District are granted tuition waivers. In addition, CCS is an experimental project funded from the special budget provided for new program development by the Office of Academic Affairs. Such funds basically provide for the salaries of special faculty and staff. The college administration plans to support the long-range development of CCS—an admittedly expensive undertaking with continued special funding, and seeks federal and state support for anticipated allied CCS projects, e.g., Talent Search and Student Concern (VISTA).

TOTAL ACCOUNTABILITY—MALCOLM X COLLEGE

Chicago's West Side is a ghetto community considered by many standards to be the most depressed section of poverty in the city. Basic economic and demographic facts highlight what the living conditions are for the more than 1,000,000 black residents confined to that urban sector. For example, the median family income is approximately $3000 per year, at least 25 percent of the residents are on welfare at any one time, 35 percent of the dwelling units are substandard, with rentals higher for blacks than for whites, infant mortality and tuberculosis rates are among the highest in the metropolitan area, and the incidence of juvenile delinquency is twice that of all Chicago.

Although chronic high unemployment and low educational attainment have long characterized Chicago's West Side neighborhoods, a recent college survey (Morrow & Mapp, 1969) cites Bureau of Labor statistics which show that these conditions have become even greater problems in the past few years. In 1969 the

unemployment rate averaged 8.6 percent – two and-one-half times the rate for the entire city. Sixty-three percent of workers in the ghetto 18 years of age and older had less than four years of high school, compared nationally with 38 percent for all workers and 57 percent for black workers. The relationship between education and employment is indicated by the statement that ". . . on the West Side of Chicago, the labor force participation rate of those 25 years and over, having less than an 8th grade education, was 50 percent, while the rate for high school graduates was 76 percent [p.8]." The report also showed that West Side teenagers comprise 12.3 percent of the civilian labor force compared to 7.6 percent for the city of Chicago, and observed that, "Since teenagers in the labor force generally have less education and experience than the rest of the workers, their presence as a significant percentage of the labor force multiplies the employment problems [p.8]."

Ghetto adults do not think of themselves as potential college students, and there is doubt that college has ever been relevant to their lives. Recent figures (Weinberg, 1970) show that fewer than 4000 of Chicago's black people attend college on a full-time basis, and that fewer than 10,000 are attending any college at all. Even those who do graduate from high school and are admitted to Chicago's city colleges are ill-prepared for college work. Traditionally, most of them have failed in the community college system.

Malcolm X College is presently the only comprehensive educational institution in the heart of Chicago's West Side. Completing its second year of operation, it has brought a new name and a new commitment to an older facility of the city colleges system which had ceased to have any significant educational impact on an increasingly depressed section of the nation's second largest city.

Malcolm X College: Historical Perspective

In 1966, the Chicago city colleges system ended its connection with the Chicago Board of Education, of which it had been a part for more than 50 years. Enabling legislation at that time

provided for a separate community college district to be governed by a Board of Trustees appointed by the mayor. The new state master plan (Illinois Board of Higher Education, 1964) had made provision for placing the Chicago institutions, together with all other state community colleges, under the supervision of the new Illinois Junior College Board, described in the 1964 Illinois Master Plan as a "distinctly higher education agency with no common school connection."

Reasons for the change in governance and administrative arrangements were many, some of which represented long-standing concerns of community college educators in Chicago. A summary observation by the Illinois Board of Higher Education highlighted the difficulties of working under the common school Board of Education well after the different mission and role of public two-year colleges had emerged: "Under this system, the two year [public] colleges in Illinois or elsewhere have been poorly financed, badly housed, and inadequately supervised (Illinois Master Plan, 1964, pp.51-52)."

Keehan (1969) has commented upon the largely unsuccessful half-century attempt by Chicago community colleges to serve the needs of poverty groups, citing as a primary reason the lack of experience in reaching the poor and illiterate. As coordinator of an OEO community outreach program administered locally by the former Crane City College (now Malcolm X), Keehan noted the desperate plight of West Side residents and the responsibility of the college to reassess its professional image and review its obligations to this massive minority population.

An awareness of the early educational role of the old Crane campus is essential to the understanding of present developments at Malcolm X College. The first community college in Chicago, Crane was converted from a technical high school in 1911 to a postsecondary institution designed to service the needs of West Side residents, largely white. As generations of West Side Chicagoans–mostly Southern European immigrants–moved up prevailing income levels, primarily through industrial occupations, Crane curricula and institutional style changed. The school ultimately acquired a quiet, proper, lower middle-class image. Without ever featuring a broad or dynamic curriculum in its long history of service, it nevertheless continuously managed to evolve an

adequate range of offerings throughout the years during which seven additional system campuses were established to meet the needs of the growing metropolitan area.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, some of the newer campuses began to emphasize specialized occupational curriculums, thus drawing clientele from the West Side service area as new occupations continued to develop in business-related and industrial technologies. In the same period, the black migration inundated the West Side. By the mid-1960s, district and college administrators had come to recognize the seriousness of the West Side minority problem, and made preparations to establish a large allied health training center at the Crane campus. It was thought that two purposes would be served by this action:

1. The community college training center would successfully complement the developing metropolitan medical center complex already begun in that section of the city. The complex includes the three important medical facilities of St. Luke's Presbyterian Hospital, the city's Public Health Hospital, and the new University of Illinois medical school.

2. A large minority population would have its educational and occupational needs initially cared for in the form of career ladder paramedical training programs leading to employment in the adjacent medical complex and elsewhere.

Many other educational and community service programs were planned for subsequent development at the Crane facility (University of Illinois, 1967), including programs emphasizing service occupations and training in urban problems. Proposed action at Crane on both facilities and curricula were to be initiated when organizational arrangements associated with the changes in the governance patterns of the new college system were normalized.

However, pressures intensified within the ghetto community for a more immediate educational service effort by the community college system, making somewhat prophetic a planning report (University of Illinois, 1967) observation concerning the potential for community protest: "Perhaps the greatest single service Crane

can provide to the surrounding community is a promise of neighborhood stability [p.110]." In 1969, pressures for change precipitated a new administration for Crane Community College.

Weinberg's (1970) provocative study of the present educational structure of the Chicago community college district describes Crane's plight in terms of two basic problems: an evolving geographical pattern of disparate educational opportunities, and the economic inequity for inner-city taxpayers in a metropolitan-based college district. Pointing to the Chicago School Board of Education's maintenance of the neighborhood character of the community college system over a half-century of operation, in the name of the "proximity principle," Weinberg shows that this approach actually resulted in distinctly different educational services distributed from neighborhood to neighborhood within the city; ghetto campuses were able to offer only minimal programs of college-level work and generally ineffective remedial programs. While the 1967 shift to new district governance and organizational patterns did ameliorate these differences to some degree, the subsequent slow development of the entire new network of colleges has reduced the distinctions only slightly. Weinberg shows this in a startling comparison of Crane with the Wright campus, presently the most suburban of all city colleges. In a two-year period, 1967-1969, Crane nearly doubled its enrollment, from 1360 to 2245, while Wright's enrollment increased approximately 7 percent. Yet, while students at both colleges during this period were subject to the same district entrance and graduation requirements, Wright offered a far broader range of educational opportunities than Crane. Significantly, Wright is more than 95 percent white; Crane (now Malcolm X) is 99 percent black.

Weinberg (1970) also showed that while low-income West Side taxpayers continued to contribute to the financial support of public colleges, their children benefited at a decreasing rate. Records indicate that the attrition rate between grade nine and college entrance for all students from Chicago's low-income urban areas is 80 percent, but less than 25 percent in high-income suburban areas. In effect, at the same time, as more and more middle-class whites leave the inner-city, the burden of supporting urban public higher education falls heavily on inner-city residents. Weinberg charges that because very few of their children have ever been enrolled in city colleges, inner-city parents are paying for a service never received.

The Keehan (1969) and Weinberg (1970) reports clearly delineate the vacuum in higher education which surrounded the black West Side communities at the end of the last decade.

Malcolm X College Today

In 1969, the first black chief administrative officer in the City Colleges of Chicago system was inaugurated president of Crane City College. From many viewpoints, his leadership from the beginning has been audacious and controversial. Often achieving national notoriety (Chronicle of Higher Education, 1971), that inner-city college under the new administration has attempted to make sweeping changes in urban education with a focus on black ghetto problems. Early tangible modifications included the institution's change of name (to Malcolm X College) and location (to the Chicago system's newest $26 million West Side facility). Less noticeable, however, has been the progress of innovative educational programming at Malcolm X College, although many seminal efforts have been underway for some time. Initially, the college staff set upon the purpose of "total accountability"—an idea which embodies full-scale reciprocity between the West Side institution and the needs of the community it serves. The staff sees the *community*, ultimately, as the college. Thus, the institution is not viewed by the administration and the faculty as simply another inner-city community college with some effective programs for low-income students. Rather, it is being directed toward becoming a totally reconstituted institution organized as a massive community service. As such, the college itself is the program for the disadvantaged.

Many point out that there is no guarantee that the result will be ultimately successful. In fact, the important literature concerning institutional change suggests otherwise—that results are more often successful and lasting when brought about slowly and in segmental fashion. Nor has there been sufficient evaluation of the several ongoing programs.

To date, the college is evidently attempting to provide virtually all of the alternative enrollment-attendance patterns which, according to Knoell (ERIC, 1971), are more likely to foster a good

college experience than conventional approaches. In addition to developing a strong comprehensive educational program, the college is also planning to emphasize institutional features which can generate the most lasting interest and meaning for inner-city constituencies–features which transfer the substance of the college into the community, and which can also provide entry level training programs in various occupations.

It is too early to assess the effectiveness of much of Malcolm X College's approach: some of its programs are largely experimental and have been in full operation for only one complete school year. The following list of significant features of the institution's integrated and coordinated service effort are therefore largely based on the college's own hopeful projections for the future.

Creating Access

In addition to the growing number of courses and programs which provide either for transfer to senior institutions or for employment in modern technological fields such as allied health, business-secretarial, and engineering, the college provides learning alternatives and approaches designed to meet the different needs of the widest range of community clientele. Four special programs in particular exemplify these unique designs.

The Street Academy Program, designed primarily for elementary and/or high school dropouts, attempts to upgrade the educational and vocational skills of unemployed community residents. The full complement of the college's resources are put at the disposal of clientele, including the very real personal commitment of staff and student body. Academy clientele are recruited by regularly enrolled students employed through college work-study funds which support social service trainees. The student recruiters search lists of dropouts supplied by local high school counselors, community social agencies, and church-affiliated organizations.

Literally "rounded up" by other students, Academy clientele are processed through one of the increasing number of the West

Side's inception centers. The mission of Malcolm X College is explained, and this automatic enrollment into the college entitles the student to immediate participation in all the services and activities offered. These normally include financial aid, counseling and guidance, athletic events, and student government. Before enrolling in a specific training program, students take a battery of diagnostic achievement tests which establish capabilities in reading performance and numerical ability. (Tests are administered by the college's Learning Skills Center, described below.) Test results are interpreted in conference with three staff persons—the counselor and student tutor assigned to the student, and the staff occupational specialist. During this first of many scheduled conferences with various key staff members, a program of study is recommended for the new student, consisting of a combination of classroom, tutorial, and study skills assignments.

General Educational Development (GED) training constitutes an important part of every Street Academy Program. Attainment of at least the high school diploma is a primary goal of the Academy. The college currently operates 20 of these community-based training centers on the West Side, averaging 15 students per site.

The establishment of neighborhood storefront information centers is an integral part of the Street Academy's recruitment program. The primary purpose of these strategically placed centers is to disseminate information about the programs and services offered by Malcolm X College and, where feasible, to maintain many of these services at the center itself. Information is readily available about college entrance requirements, high school diploma equivalency (GED), tutorial programs, academic subject classes, and group counseling. Neighborhood residents are solicited for suggestions for additional Academy and college offerings.

Day-care facilities and services, including a kindergarten program, are provided for the children of Street Academy members studying at the main campus or in the outlying centers.

Street Academy clients who do not wish to continue formal education beyond secondary school (GED), are referred, through Project IMPACT, to jobs or job-training opportunities elsewhere which are appropriate to their interests and abilities. Project IMPACT, a program of vocational training and service supported by

federal funds under Title I, Higher Education Act of 1965, actively recruits job-seeking Street Academy clientele for immediate participation in a variety of occupational experiences. It has had increasing success at Malcolm X College, largely because of the efforts of knowledgeable college personnel who work closely with corporations and industries in the community. Job openings are found, listed, and kept current; students are then trained for immediate entry and placed in the waiting occupational niche. The key to IMPACT success is prior commitment from industry; excellent working relationships between the college and corporations have resulted in the regular absorption of the bulk of college-trained students.

In the fiscal year 1970-1971, Malcolm X College was the recipient of three grants (federal and state) totaling more than $300,000 for support of the Street Academy Program. Much of the money has gone directly into the training of 300 unemployed high school graduates and dropouts for both GED equivalency and job-entry preparation.

The Learning Skills Center is considered by staff members to be the instructional heart of the new Malcolm X operation. When completely operational, the center can regularly offer both credit and noncredit academic courses in many subjects, in addition to provicing subject-related tutorial services. For example, an English teacher, acting as a communications facilitator, will work with an instructor in another area, such as allied health or engineering technology. Using materials supplied by the occupational instructor, the facilitator then focuses on the information, skills, and experiences the student needs to pursue his area of interest.

Students are taught in small groups and by individual appointment. Center facilitators are assisted by approximately 30 staff tutors who are regular students on work-study contracts, and often give a good deal of help to first-year students.

Attendance in Center sessions is often required of students. Currently, substantial assistance is available in many areas of undergraduate degree, diploma, and certificate programs. The center is open 12 hours a day and, while still in a developmental stage, has a growing collection of materials from all departments and service

areas of the college. The extent of the enrollments in basic English courses is some measure of the use being made of the Learning Skills Center. During the college year 1970-1971, 1208 students were enrolled in English 101, and 819 students were enrolled in English 102.

The Skills Center is a complement to the more extensive Learning Resources Center, a unified graphics-audio-visual facility which serves the entire institution and its outreach effort. The new TV studio and additional media capabilities emphasize major forms of experimentation in instructional processes. The Resources Center provides a full range of technologies which support the needs of the Skills Center, and employs full-time technicians who work closely with facilitators to effect the most meaningful learning environments.

The heterogeneity of West Side clientele continues to challenge the capabilities of Center personnel, however, and in fiscal year 1970-1971, Malcolm X College was the recipient of a Title II, HEA of 1965 grant totaling $100,000, for the training of Learning Resources Center staff in the development of new and innovative instructional materials.

The Community Tutorial Project is a relatively new and experimental feature in the college plans to reach even greater numbers of West Side residents. The program has had to wait for trained student tutors newly generated out of other special college programs. But as the mission of the institution grows in importance for its black students, they in turn reflect this commitment by assisting other young people in the community. Presently, Malcolm X students conduct tutorial programs each weekday in the various college outreach centers now found not only in the West Side community, but also in several other locations throughout urban Chicago. Currently, the project has an enrollment of 1500 students.

Student tutors offer assistance in reading, speaking, mathematics, social studies, and other subjects which are increasingly required for social and economic competency in the urban setting. Each student tutor averages more than three hours of service per day, which includes assisting in the planning and supervision of field trips to museums, athletic events, and the theatre. Future plans include an

extension of the tutorial project to the Outpost Program, a similar community-wide program designed to benefit elementary and junior high school students.

The Prison Annex Program now provides relevant and meaningful college preparation for inmates of many of the state's correctional institutions. Courses are offered through a visiting faculty program, correspondence courses, telephone lecture-discussion programs, or a combination of such methods. Approximately 300 students are currently enrolled in various courses offered at three adult penitentiaries.

A new program for boys at the Illinois State Training School at St. Charles was initiated in 1970-71. Its unique feature is that the Training School will become a permanent campus extension of Malcolm X College. One hundred out of 500 young male inmates, ranging in age from 15 to 19 years, will be allowed to enroll the first year on a randomly selected basis. The program will develop three separate curricula: presecondary (emphasis on learning skills development); high school (college preparatory and occupational training); and college (for those students tested as eligible). For these programs Malcolm X College will make use of tutors already enrolled in comparable courses as well as those Training School students competent to take on tutorial responsibilities.

The Prison Annex Program includes follow-up by and continued association with Malcolm X College. College credit earned is entered on an official school transcript to be held in escrow until the student enrolls at the college or requests that it be sent to another institution. The highly successful Parolee Assistance Program is an extension of the Annex program, and offers counseling services and legal assistance provided by the college when needed.

In January 1971, the Illinois State Board of Corrections awarded a grant of $340,000 to Malcolm X College to provide educational programs for young men at the Illinois State Training School at St. Charles, Illinois.

Rapprochement between the College and Community Business

In addition to providing entry-level training for metropolitan-wide occupational niches, such as in the allied health

professions, Malcolm X College is attempting to wed West Side business and industrial interests to many of the college's training programs. A growing number of West Side organizations are presently attempting to pool capital resources for support of the community college; in turn, the college will move students with the appropriate occupational training into jobs provided by local business and industry. In cases where a business or even a light industry wishes to leave the community, the college supports the community in consideration of the purchase of the operation as a college training center as well as a viable business enterprise. In this way, business profit continues to be turned back into the community economy, students can be trained, and the enterprise continues to serve local related business at reduced cost.

Student Capabilities and Training Program Placement

Malcolm X College will attempt to serve absolutely all clientele, including the physically and mentally handicapped. In doing so, the institution attempts to achieve a realistic but controversial compatability of interest and aptitude. Job training that can be easily mastered by the handicapped will go to them on a priority basis if they test low on mental and physical ability. As a general practice, more able students who might easily succeed with it will not be offered that particular job training. The staff hopes that this plan will curtail student competition for the more easily learned skills, and decrease the tendency toward a lag in enrollment in the more complex occupational training programs. This approach to occupational program placement is supported by extensive counseling and peer tutoring and, for the time being, will apparently be standard procedure.

The college has evidently convinced West Side industry and business leaders of the feasibility, at least on a test basis, of giving Malcolm X students first choice of all community occupational niches. Although this is not a generally accepted approach in community college arrangements for preparing students for jobs, Malcolm X administrators argue that it will ultimately tend to decrease the fierce competition for scarce economic rewards which

now exists between ghetto youth. At the same time, it is contended, the plan will tend to substantially reduce job-hopping by the bored but often expensively trained men in industry. This approach is admittedly both experimental and controversial, but Malcolm X College staff feels it can work in and for the ghetto community.

Committed College Personnel

In its opening pages, the new Malcolm X catalogue suggests that the college is a special institution, ". . . one in which educational services are designed to serve in a unique way the goals of poor people." Other sections make clear to the reader that the institution serves the black community of Chicago primarily, that it deals particularly with problems confronting the black community, and that the significant role of the college staff is to serve the needs of the poverty community in whatever way and by whatever means possible.

Interviews revealed that the Malcolm X staff expects to work as many hours as are required to achieve the institution's goals—to do whatever must be done around the clock. This expectation is evidently an important part of the employment agreement, and the members of the research team felt that many staff members do this with professional pride and personal commitment. Staff interviews indicated that inner-city "pioneering" sometimes entails personal sacrifice, but that the challenge of the blight of the Chicago West Side is always present as a spur.

The shape of change at Malcolm X is not always clear. Insofar as institutional reconstitution is taking place, however, the combination of committed key staff members, a strong president, and general accord about the unique mission and role of the institution points at least temporarily to success in a disadvantaged community which has for more than two decades been saturated with unsuccessful federal and municipal service programs.

Fiscal Independence and Flexibility

Presently, the administration sees the future successful development of Malcolm X College as dependent upon

other-than-district financing. It is felt that centralized budgeting, reflected in the uniform district format, will tend to limit rather than enhance the initiation of new forms of training, instruction, and community service. Thus, while the college hopes to have the continued support of district monies, as well as that of federal and state funds, its administrators increasingly view private contributions and other forms of public financing as keys to the future flexibility of the institution and its new mission and role.

Sources of funding have already been found among organizations and groups on the West Side, and plans are being developed to solicit unencumbered monies in the form of a Friends of Malcolm X College Foundation. The West Side institution now defines "community control" as a combination of substantial community-based fiscal independence and adaptability, and direct representation and decisionmaking by the community through an active Community Advisory Council and special program consulting bodies.

CONCLUSIONS ABOUT MALCOLM X COLLEGE

It is difficult to suggest how Malcolm X developments might meaningfully guide the efforts of other urban MUDs. There appears to be a deeper, broader, and more all-encompassing sense of mission behind the present activity at this Chicago institution than is found in most other inner-city community colleges—a sharper departure from the type of change or modification normally encountered in new programs for the disadvantaged.

Certainly from any significant public service point of view, Malcolm X College is among the most unique community colleges in the nation; some see it as the most unique. In any event, it seems clear that the institution has not simply been modified by appending programs for "new" students, or adding a special college division to provide broadly for low-income students. It is, rather, attempting a reconstitution both of its internal structure and its relations with its constituent community.

The college has also redefined "community" by bringing into focus against the blur of mass urban society the life-style and value

orientation of ghetto residents. Thus, what seems to be happening within this Chicago public college can be understood as a function of the special problems of the black ghetto around it. Here the critical problems of human survival, the lack of geographical mobility, and the marked degree of residential confinement are all reflected in the college, which has attempted to respond with its curriculum and general posture.

The curriculum and the service effort of all college personnel and clientele are being applied to these compelling community problems. Dealing with the two key dimensions of minority repression—community cohesion and social negativism—Malcolm X College utilizes the positive aspects of community (education and public service) to deal with the negative aspects of minority life.

In a marked departure from the usual situation, students at Malcolm X College show their willingness to be helped—by admitting they are "not making it," recognizing the possibility that training at Malcolm X might change that predicament, and accepting the assurance that college personnel will be sensitive to and patient with their first awkward attempts at personal and professional growth. Any black student finds himself little different from other students on campus. Students appear to find Malcolm X a dignified way to obtain what they want without compromising their personal integrity. One important result of this open college environment is that many Malcolm X students are willing to be trained to go back into the ghetto to change its worst features. Thus, the college can fulfill the hopes of politically conscious and socially sensitive young blacks.

For all of its internal change and outreach crusade, Malcolm X nevertheless remains an accepted member of the city colleges of the Chicago system and maintains a viable working relationship with its district office. The college is fully accredited by the North Central Association, and holds membership in the American Association of Junior Colleges, the chief administrator of which is currently a member of its Board of Directors.

Despite this evidence that the college is still widely regarded as an effective postsecondary public institution, it is undoubtedly true that some will claim that Malcolm X is not a representative community college. Yet it seems clear to many others who watch

with interest its often brash efforts, that the institution is not merely in willful rebellion against the prevailing methods of educational service provided by all other two-year colleges. In the context of black disillusionment and ghetto isolation, Malcolm X College may simply be doing what it feels it must.

7

Summary, Implications, and Recommendations

ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS

A brief overview of the findings in the six districts studied point up the potent effects of districtwide organization problems and the consequent frustrations which can contribute to the dilution of program effectiveness.

Analysis of existing urban district organizations shows that there are four key problems.

1. Great concern is being registered about the possibilities of downtown campuses "going black." The supporting community and the district may have differing opinions about the special missions and roles of an inner-city college. Certainly there is a clear possibility that a black campus will not be financially supported in accord with its financial needs. Prolonged financial struggles could ensue as a result of efforts to maintain a campus initially intended to hold a more balanced racial mix.

2. There is a lack of awareness shown by faculty concerning the daily problems and circumstances of life in the ghetto. Many faculty plainly do not understand what is happening in or to the inner-city campus, and some resent what they see as the trend toward further invasion of professional privacy and academic pursuits. For them, "getting to know the ghetto" goes beyond their employment contract. Not infrequently, faculty once excited by the idea of teaching on the inner-city campus become rudely awakened to the realities in the classroom. Deficient educational background, lack of motivation, language "hang-ups," and great feelings of

interpersonal mistrust quickly surface in intensive student-teacher contacts.

3. Accustomed ways of budgeting monies by established formula are less relevant to the educational programs at downtown campuses, and adequate financial support of inner-city campus educational programs emerges as a fundamental problem. The "per unit cost" of educating low-income students is unquestionably higher than it is to educate other students in the district. Thus, the source, amount, and administration of money can cause critical problems and frustration to urban community colleges.

4. Conflict tends to arise over such matters as basic assumptions and directions, staff recruitment and promotions, assignments, authority relations, and office location. Districts often suffer from the ways in which persons at various levels in the structure perceive and manage conflict. Increasingly, the issues of unionism and local control are likely to be sources of appreciable conflict within many districts today.

In the 1960s, during the decade of affluence and quantitative expansion in higher education, faculty unions expanded markedly in size and activities. In some cities with histories of strong labor movements, such as Chicago and New York, the faculties have won enormous gains in salaries and working conditions. In some cases, it is reported that the special "agreements" reached over class size, student-teacher ratios, professional recruitment standards, and counseling practices have produced highly significant constraints on the effectiveness of downtown campuses, which have unusual and nonstandard needs. Quite clearly, faculty unions aim to control a large percentage of the policies that undergird the operations of urban districts.

Local community control is also subject to power struggles between various special interests and militant community groups. Unlike unions which involve themselves in more and more areas of policy negotiations gradually, piece-by-piece and inch-by-inch, community groups tend to vie for immediate and all-embracing power. They want nothing less than local citizen control, usually

through advisory bodies or boards established with jurisdiction over the entire college. Although the strategies for gaining power vary in degree, from community to community, from the more incremental to the all-out approach, always critical, of course, is the extent to which local control should be risked when its immediate impact may be to impair the effectiveness of urban community colleges to serve their local needs. No definitive judgment can yet be made on this issue.

FRUSTRATION IN PROGRAMMING

Programming for the disadvantaged in the six urban community districts surveyed in this study covers a broad range of functions, including recruitment, counseling, tutoring, preparation in basic skills, developmental curricular offerings, remediation, financial aid, and job placement. For purposes of comparison and analysis, the more than 150 different kinds of efforts in behalf of needy students were classified into eight groups, equally divided between programs and services.

Programs

1. Basic Skills. A "fundamentals of fundamentals" approach, which presents the essentials of social sciences, humanities, and life sciences with somewhat less rigor than in conventional classes. Basic skills efforts take various forms, including pre-college institutes, summer preparation programs, and regular college-year special service institutes.

2. Remedial Programs. Designed to raise the level of understanding and manipulation of the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Methods for developing workable remedial programs include special diagnostic testing, "walk-in" day and evening clinics, no-grade options, and the use of behavioral objectives approaches as well as programmed learning techniques.

3. Short-Term Specialty Training. A large portion of this activity is in terms of government subventions central to such

well-known training efforts as New Careers, the National Youth Corps Program, MOTA, and VEA-related projects. Specific courses, such as those entitled, *Human Relations on the Job*, or *How to Successfully Meet the Job Interview*, also come within the framework of short-term training.

4. Campus Extensions. These attempt to meet the needs of the more culturally-inclusive neighborhoods within the larger urban community, and include community annexes, development or neighborhood centers, and street academies. By being able to attend classes at many locations in the ghetto district, transportation problems for students are reduced, and they can more often avail themselves of crash offerings to meet immediate needs.

Services

5. Busing. Used as a means to facilitate transportation from outlying areas of the ghetto to the inner-city college. A less common form of busing service is the mobile counseling vans which work in the ghetto community during the day, and often in the evening.

6. Counseling and Guidance. All MUD colleges appeared to have counseling and guidance staffs of appreciable size. Group guidance, sensitivity training, and encounter groups are concepts of interpersonal involvement presently considered important by most counseling and guidance personnel.

7. Tutoring. A special kind of counseling and guidance service which is proving to be increasingly significant as an overall aid for disadvantaged students. Peer counseling and tutoring are presently important adjuncts to actual or ongoing programs for the disadvantaged and are widely considered by project staffs to be the inevitable next step in student aid through counseling.

8. Financial Aid. Most programs for the disadvantaged student provide some minimum financial support, including tuition and fees, books and supplies, and transportation and subsistence. Important additional financial aid is sometimes available through

grants-in-aid, stipends, loans, and scholarships. Major sources of present student aid funding are HEW-OEO grants, specifically allocated state monies, and district funds.

Analysis of more than 200 interviews with persons closely associated with these different programs and services in the six MUDs revealed feelings of disappointment and frustration.

Problems were reported as having developed because programs were planned without regard either to their relationship to the district's overall curricular pattern or to the life-style of ghetto residents; because there was a lack of experienced awareness of problems which can be generated by ongoing programs; and because there was no formal program evaluation over time. These problems experienced at the level of program development and control frequently tie back to the district organizational problems discussed earlier.

Thus, many (if not most) of the efforts made by urban colleges to work with the unique problems of ghetto life have experienced a cycle of frustrating events. Most program officers report the following events, more or less in sequence: 1) The problem is identified as needing to find ways to effectively meet the educational needs of low-income students; 2) There is uncertainty about how this educational challenge can be met; 3) The many pressures to "act now" usually force the use of traditional rules and ways to meet the nontraditional problem; and 4) Animosities arise as it becomes clear that the educational needs of culturally disadvantaged students cannot be served by traditional programs.

SOME SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS

Several programs for low-income students in inner-city environments can be regarded as having broken the frustration cycle in each of the six districts studied. The five programs analyzed typified four different types of emphasis.

Recruitment in the Ghetto

Project AHEAD (St. Louis) and Project Search (Cleveland) are inner-city programs designed to seek and find disadvantaged

ghetto residents to provide them with educational opportunities available at all levels in the urban setting. The local urban public community college plays a key role in providing training opportunities for a wide range of ghetto clientele. Both projects specialize in intensive recruitment, counseling, and tutoring, some done by peers.

The projects are supported by a combination of "inside and outside" monies–federal, state, district, and private foundation financing. All students are provided varying amounts of aid, ranging from the forgiveness of tuition and text charges to full subsistence.

The success of both projects provides useful features for the development of similar inner-city efforts: cooperative funding and programming which includes the efforts of many agencies and institutions outside the community college district; project staff chosen for their knowledge of ghetto life-style; peer tutoring; long-range planning both of project organization and students' educational careers; and the development of strong and varied community support, including local advisory committees, financial sponsorships, and civic endorsements of project objectives and philosophies.

Community Development Centers

The Community Development Centers of the Peralta District (Oakland, California) is a complex of neighborhood annexes initiated as part of an Inner-City Project developed by that MUD. Centers, located in four urban disadvantaged "target" areas, provide educational and counseling services. Supervised by flagship colleges of the district, centers are staffed primarily by local residents organized to administer to the special needs of clientele in the vicinity.

Assessment of the Peralta District Development Centers suggests four major features of possible use to similar kinds of urban programs: community involvement in the design and development of neighborhood outreach programs; substantial support resources for continued program development, derived from many sources (other-than-district funding); staff with unconventional qualifications who require a reassessment of personnel practices and district

certification policies; and a district organizational structure flexible enough to exempt many of the educational arrangements from conventional regulations, formula budgets, and cost/benefit analyses.

The Mini-College

The Community College Studies program developed at the North Campus of the Miami-Dade Junior College District is a one-year compensatory, remedial education project for students highly unlikely to succeed in college. It is open to all students who perform below a state college entrance norm, and regularly enrolls other "very high risk" students referred by community services and secondary school personnel.

The CCS program differs in several ways from many other community college attempts to provide special learning environments for a select and encapsulated clientele: interdisciplinary team instruction, representing subject matter, counseling and guidance, and clinical responsibilities; behavioral objectives to provide varied pacing and alternative paths to learning for a diverse student grouping; student experimental and control groups to provide controlled evaluation of the program through research conducted over a period of several years; special funding which supports experimental projects in the district through the Office of Academic Affairs; and student-faculty interaction in very small groups for much of each program day.

Total Accountability

Malcolm X College is not simply another inner-city community college with some programs for disadvantaged ghetto students. Rather, the total institution is programmed as a community service for Chicago West Side black residents. As such, the whole college is the program.

Malcolm X College serves its community in two key ways: by developing varied paths of access to the institution itself, and by bringing the efforts of the institution directly into the lives and

activities of community businesses and private residents through dynamic outreach. Student recruiters search attrition lists supplied by local high school counselors, as well as listings of "high risk" clientele provided by community social agencies and church-affiliated organizations. Counseling and peer tutoring are constant and often mandatory for the new student. Outreach includes scores of West Side community "annexes" and "inception centers," and working agreements with business and industry concerning occupational placement and work-study arrangements. Many state of Illinois correctional institutions have been made permanent campus extensions. Both staff and students presently view the mission of the college "to serve in a unique way the goals of poor people."

The salient points of development in the present stance of Malcolm X College are the following: an ultimate goal of "total accountability" to be reached by making the community into the college; pervasive outreach, bringing all institutional service units into the Near West Side ghetto; institutional viability developed as an outcome of operational independence and fiscal flexibility (as distinguished from conventional controls and support); a marriage of black commerce and Malcolm X training; and a growing cadre of zealous student leaders bringing greater Malcolm X exposure before ghetto residents.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

General recommendations can be made on the basis of the findings from the present study of urban community colleges and programs for low-income students. These cannot be considered overall guidelines, however, since they cannot take into account the critical differences between the situations of the various cities. The following chapter does move beyond general recommendations to examine in depth basic issues to be met before developing MUDs. Listed below, however, is relatively unequivocal advice drawn directly from the research data.

District Organization. The most effective way for district offices to encourage and facilitate the work of inner-city campuses is by acting as a coordinating body rather than a governing one.

Excess district organization has a constraining effect on programming for disadvantaged students, and furthermore, resourceful program coordinators can often devise ways for circumventing existing procedures that normally hinder program vitality. District staffs do best when they respond to and respect the individual differences in mission and role of different academic units, and allow campuses to specialize in their own program offerings.

Campus work with special problems, like those related to educating low-income students, is fostered best when district staff perform a mainly supportive role in their relations with the inner-city campus. Such a role may take a variety of forms. For example, one persistent problem plaguing inner-city institutions is the handling of the efforts of some strong city, county, and sometimes even state personalities to squelch activities which may be controversial. By responding to and judiciously channeling such pressures into constructive support, district boards and staff can win considerable campus confidence.

The district office can also play a supportive role in program initiation and review; based on what they have learned during their visitations to other districts facing similar situations, district staff can be helpful by suggesting promising ways that their inner-city personnel might respond to the ghetto condition. Essentially this suggests that district staffs not mandate programs for the inner-city institutions, but encourage staff at these sensitive locations to play the initiating and programming role.

District staffs can be invaluable in facilitating intercampus cooperation in developing joint programs, sharing scarce equipment and facilities, and fostering appropriate program emphases on each district campus. Study data indicate that specialization at urban district campuses seems more often to lead to successful programs for the increasingly diverse range of students entering big city community colleges.

Leadership. The success of inner-city campuses is heavily dependent on a clearly delimited definition of institutional mission and role, and on carefully preplanned inner-city programs.

The prime function of leadership is to build special values and a distinctive competence into an organization. This is

accomplished through the definition of purpose and mission, the design of organizational structures compatible with goals, the development of an adaptive capacity to changing environmental conditions, and the effective management of strains within the organization. Each of these tasks is important to organizational performance, and some form of leadership exists in complex organizations within each structural unit and at every administrative level.

Both system chancellors and campus presidents participate in the process of goal definition and redefinition so vital to the success of the inner-city community college. It is also important that leadership insure that districtwide administrative policies and practices are consistent with and supportive of institutional mission and role. Inner-city campuses cannot be expected to adequately fulfill their special roles if they are subject to the same resource levels, staffing arrangements, and budgetary accountability as suburban campuses within the same urban district.

Preplanning of inner-city programs is another feature of strong and effective district leadership. Because of the many program uncertainties and political complexities likely to arise in working with low-income students, careful planning can be a vital asset. It provides both realistic guidelines for program development and a broader developmental framework that relates the special programs to other more conventional activities within the district.

Above all else, district leadership is most contributory to program performance when it is strong and consistent. While campus personnel provide major substantive direction, it is the district staff that defines general areas of need, fends off undue political pressures that thwart new and controversial programs, and gives psychological and financial support to all district campuses.

Staffing. Effective faculty in urban community colleges are generally characterized by being sensitive to the feelings and problems of others, knowledgeable about the daily affairs and problems of ghetto life, willing to have their work regularly monitored, and able to make behavioral adjustments based on constructive feedback.

The performance of organizations depends heavily on the quality of professional, technical, and supporting staff. Recruiting

practices, training programs, and professional recognition all contribute in significant ways to developing competent staff. Success of inner-city community colleges in reaching the needs of their special clientele is very often affected more by how well staff relate to "new" students than by the kind of curriculum or program offered. Often faculty who are especially successful with ghetto students have themselves come from ghetto backgrounds, or have shown through past performance their strong interest in working on the educational problems of low-income students. Such persons, however, may not have the conventional certification requirements, and special district policy should be set for them.

Beyond specially recruited and trained faculty there are other staff who play key roles that contribute significantly to inner-city campus success with low-income students. For example, program directors, the first-line administrators who are responsible for program development, staff recruitment, and coordination with other campus programs and administrative units must be able to "sell" their program to the institution's chief administrative officer as well as to other persons centrally involved in institutional decisionmaking. The role played by administrators whose actions directly impinge on programs can be vital in determining the available resources and thus, often, the general success of the program.

Inner-city institutions not only profit from special orientation programs for staff who deal directly with ghetto student problems, but also from periodic staff meetings or series of seminar meetings to present and discuss interesting experiences and noteworthy problems. Specific course work experience, such as in urban anthropology or ghetto politics, would also add an important dimension to staff development. Another very worthwhile contribution to staff development is achieved when faculty are allowed to visit other institutions where interesting programs or projects are being initiated or have been ongoing for some time. The success of inner-city colleges derives from many sources, but intensive efforts to obtain appropriate staff and to provide them with regular opportunities for the exchange of ideas add immeasurably to the possibilities for success.

Community support. Five dimensions of campus-community relationships require special attention: The campus or program site must be located in or near the ghetto to provide maximum accessibility; campus buildings and facilities must be suited to special program needs; public transportation must serve students from outlying areas; program plans must include arrangements to fully utilize available resources and skills of various urban groups and agencies; and program planning and administration must be based on in-depth research about the community and on a regular flow of information about current attitudes and issues.

The two-year college maintains an especially close relationship to its local community. This relationship can vary considerably in its importance to the college, but in the case of the inner-city campus, the relationship is particularly important for several reasons.

The location of the college and its appearance can have special meaning to local residents. Often, several city blocks may be cleared of slum-tenement housing to make way for a new community college. This usually means the dislocation of many residents and the alteration of long-established community habits. Sometimes feelings about these changes become negative, and may be transferred to the new campus.

In relation to other commercial and residential structures in the local area, the facilities constructed for the inner-city campus are frequently quite impressive in their size and general appearance. This can generate an uplifting anticipation in some local residents who plan to attend as students, but very real feelings of anxiety for others—usually from the ghetto—who see themselves as out-of-place on such a campus. These attitudes are important, for they have a reverberating effect that may either hamper or help the institution's acceptance within the community. To the extent that strong social or special interest groups, such as service clubs, business associations, and neighborhood organizations, lend their support and commitment to the college, its success with community residents may be quite substantial.

The success of some programs on an inner-city campus may rest heavily on the use of available resources in the community, as for example, part-time employment for students in local businesses,

the use of special computer facilities, and the opportunity to observe new manufacturing processes. Frequently, limited college resources plus the desire to avoid wasteful duplication dictate that use be made of various resources, equipment, and facilities in the community.

Public transportation systems frequently are not adequate in ghetto areas and, therefore, special busing programs, sponsored by the inner-city college, are needed. To the extent that this problem remains unresolved, a very real obstacle stands between the campus and many of its potential student clients.

Because ghetto understandings of what the world is all about can differ dramatically in many situations when compared with middle-class views, of critical importance to the success of colleges that serve low-income student needs is intimate, first-hand knowledge by staff of what it is like to live in the ghetto. Essentially, the ghetto is not so much a geographical section of the city as it is another way of life. Gans (1962) clearly depicts this subculture as a cohesive network of sentiments, attitudes, social norms, and values which give meaning to and support the ghetto's life-style.

This means that the inner-city campus does not operate according to conventional values. Efforts are increasingly needed for at least certain staff to be fully exposed to ghetto living patterns. In large part, this can be accomplished through regular visits to local high schools, churches, clubs, businesses, and by close liaison with welfare organizations and other public agencies serving various family, employment, and health needs in the ghetto. The more direct path to understanding, of course, is by spending time in ghetto homes.

Finances. In general, because program and support costs of inner-city campuses of multi-unit districts are substantially higher, additional sources of money, beyond local property taxes, are vitally important. It is also necessary to grant such institutions greater discretionary authority in the allocation and reallocation of their assigned funds than is normally available to campuses serving more traditional educational functions.

Since they often include both urban and suburban campuses, MUDs face special financial problems. The urban campuses are frequently located on urban renewal sites, in economically depressed

areas, or in central business and industrial sections of major cities. Frequently this means that the local residents are not highly sympathetic to or interested in the college, and that the local tax base is insufficient to support a developing and operating community college. When these institutions do obtain support, it is often as a result of districtwide political and financial commitments. Many inner-city or ghetto community colleges would be seriously in jeopardy if they had to rely primarily on local resources.

The success of inner-city campuses, therefore, depends rather heavily on access to various funding sources and arrangements, and budgetary arrangements can add to program effectiveness in several ways: A campus must be able to release funds rapidly to handle special problems, such as emergency loans or the purchase of special educational materials; special funds, preferably a combination of inside and outside monies, handled locally, facilitate the support of special programs best; application of standard budgetary formulas and ratios, especially with respect to number of counselors, tutors, and faculty per student, as well as average class sizes and faculty teaching loads, should be light-handed; and financial accounting and bookkeeping, including control of the intake of all monies, their internal allocation, transfer of funds between functional categories, and rapid distribution, should be done within each special program or project.

All these arrangements provide for the quick response often needed to meet immediate needs, even crises, and the easy movement of funds to various program activities. Some of this, of course, already happens. For example, allocation revisions of federally funded projects are possible with demonstrated cause often within a few days of approval. In other instances, internal budgetary transfers within a college can rapidly and legitimately shift monies to emergency categories. What is required in the long run, however, is the acceptance of these flexible funding arrangements as normative rather than extraordinary in inner-city fiscal operations.

A key element, not dwelt on in detail yet, is the degree of trust the district office has in campus financial officers to properly manage their affairs. It is important that campus personnel, once selected and assigned to the inner-city campus, be given substantial latitude in approaching an educational assignment which requires so much patience and persistence.

8

Critical Issues Before Community Colleges in Urban Settings

Urban higher education presently rests squarely on the horns of an embarrassing public dilemma. National political leaders and other key influentials in business and industry have repeatedly endorsed the proposition that equal educational opportunity should be provided to all persons regardless of race, religion, economic background, or ethnic identity. And several presidential commissions on national goals, as well as many prestigious educational associations, have publicly committed themselves to this objective. The dilemma emerges from the sad fact that this broad commitment is not reflected in any substantial way in the existing forms of financial support. One can assume that if this is the case, sociopolitical supports are also lacking or significantly weakened by competing public institutional ends.

Surprisingly, this dilemma faces the American public community college at a time when it is seen as the key vehicle for the democratization of higher education. This is particularly the case with emerging multi-unit districts in major cities. It is in this metropolitan setting that the "new student" emerges with the greatest diversity of needs and services. And it is here that the necessary prerequisites for meaningful urban education—open admissions, equal access, developmental education, outreach community services, and global student support—become critically manifest. To date, these prerequisites have not been sufficiently met

in the large urban districts which encompass the special institutions in the inner-cities. What this study has attempted to show is that this special unit must serve urban clientele in very special ways.

Familiar barriers to the fulfillment of the missions and roles of inner-city community colleges still persist: a lack of commitment to the concept of developmental education, a level of financial support inadequate for the critical program and service needs of this institution, and the continued rigidity of districtwide organizational arrangements even in light of differing environmental settings.

COMMITMENT

The concept of the "open door" community college is apparently not fully endorsed by many closely affiliated with this type of postsecondary institution in the urban setting. In general, community junior colleges were seen as a key means for fulfilling the commitment to universal higher education made by several prestigious bodies, including special presidential commissions. The original enthusiasm for open door colleges, however, grew out of an earlier view that community colleges would serve to reach great numbers of students who could see how two more years of postsecondary education would allow for career advancement through technical skill training and/or lead to further education at a four-year college or university.

But an awakening came when the inner-city community college campus began to expand. Not only did "open door college" begin to mean something else, but in the main it meant a more diverse student body that presented new educational problems and aroused several special interest groups. Minority and ethnic group members now came in great numbers, presenting faculty and staff with the need for new dimensions to education both because of the multicultural backgrounds such students presented, and because of the extreme weakness of their academic backgrounds. Increasing numbers of students also arrived on campus with interests that significantly challenged the institution's traditional academic functions. Some ethnic minorities, for example, presently see the college campus as a prime arena for marshalling support for their

"cause." This is particularly true for many special student political interest groups.

This substantial broadening of access to include both undereducated and culturally diverse students, among others, has brought consequences not altogether foreseen by the community college. Unilateral support for a come-one-come-all approach, particularly in the large metropolitan single district, has been increasingly questioned by several important college constituencies.

As the open door concept operates in major cities, legislators at both state and federal levels are evidently becoming aware of situations they neither favor nor support. As a consequence, some state legislators are withholding financial support from remedial or developmental education normally viewed by community colleges as part of their educational responsibility. Similar kinds of reactions are occurring increasingly at the federal level where, in essence, key committee persons are suggesting, as one was heard to say, that community colleges ". . . aren't in the business of salvaging twelve previous years of bad education." This growing attitude of criticism and often outright rejection of "equal educational opportunity for all" by some key legislators and congressmen raises serious question about the actual commitment of this country to universal education.

Significant pockets of reluctance to open door colleges are also found among groups in the local community or neighborhood. Here, serious reservations about the inner-city institution and its increasingly diverse clientele can arise in various ways. It may begin among residents displaced by the urban renewal project that cleared the land now being used by the college, or businessmen whose places of work and livelihood have appeared to be (and sometimes are) physically threatened by student disturbances in or near the campus. Especially important are the sensitivities of key influentials and policymakers, such as supervisors and councilmen, who have felt the press of community concern through unending telephone calls from critics about general campus uprisings and growing expenses. Today, rising costs in all municipal services and growing competition among them for limited resources can result in the polarization of feelings between taxpayers and local government. There is little wonder, then, that these citizens have at best a cautious commitment to the community college, and sometimes an open rejection of it in the urban setting.

The faculty and staff are also important in determining how much the urban community college supports and achieves its goals. To these personnel fall the tasks of designing and providing educational opportunities to an increasingly diverse student clientele. A major source of concern to many persons directly involved in ghetto problems is the preoccupation of many such faculty (and sometimes administrators) with transfer programs or what is considered the more academically acceptable side of the institution. In a somewhat related internal problem, good staff untrained in approaches to new students have met with debilitating frustrations in their attempts to provide meaningful educational experiences, and so have become either apathetic or resentful of their professional placement. Frequently this means that the special needs of disadvantaged students simply do not receive consideration commensurate with need.

Thus the challenge of effectively serving ghetto youth and ghetto communities is complicated by some very real problems. Many economic and political risks must be taken and their consequences accepted by all those involved in the urban community college—legislators, community leaders, institutional staff members, and students.

Here the authors suggest some "action steps" that could be taken to obtain a broader and more sustaining base of support for the special work of the ghetto college in developmental education and community outreach:

1. Greater efforts should be made within the nationwide profession of community college educators and leaders to recognize the special needs and problems faced by inner-city colleges. Special publications, workshops, and consortia-information-exchange programs should be established that focus on the key policy issues and operational problems associated with ghetto education.

2. Lawmakers concerned with the progress of the community college movement must prevent state and federal laws from being passed which significantly restrict the types of programs offered, the various teaching/learning methodologies used, or the student financial aids and assistance provided in the inner-city college.

3. District and campus personnel policies in the urban setting should facilitate the recruitment, selection, and promotion of staff suited to the particular mission and role of the inner-city college. Continuous professional counseling should be provided to help resolve problems faced by faculty and staff, and to promote further understanding of the ghetto college situation and its special student clientele.

4. The staff of the ghetto college should establish meaningful cooperative endeavors with social and service community organizations, and should initiate the development of such organizations if they do not. Ideally, the college would function as one of many community organizations concerned with and dedicated to solving the diverse problems of ghetto residents.

FINANCES

Closely related to commitment is the problem of financing urban community colleges. Because of the high costs of urban community colleges, it is becoming increasingly necessary to think in broader terms than local tax dollars; there are signs, however, of decreasing rather than increasing concern at both state and federal levels. Some state budgets, for instance, have substantially decreased funding for special programs for the disadvantaged student, and the federal budget itself has indicated a closer scrutiny of aid funds for needy students in higher education.

Of interest here is a recent memorandum (HEW, Title IV-A, June 4, 1971) from the office of the General Council of the Education Division, HEW, which questions whether community colleges that admit non-high school graduates (particularly into remedial and developmental programs) are eligible to participate in the Educational Opportunity Grant program. In this case, ss1201 of Title XII, HEA, provides EOG funding to an institution of higher education which, *inter alia*, "admits as regular students only persons having a certificate of graduation from a school providing secondary education, or the recognized equivalent of such a certificate." And in a recent statement about the role of college programs for "needy"

black students, a black economist (Sowell, 1970) has seriously questioned whether, in skipping over competent blacks to admit "authentic" ghetto types, both government and private monies have not been misappropriated, if basic program goals have been to help those who need help most, rather than those who can use it best.

A good deal of experience suggests that the budgetary approach to special institutions like inner-city campuses must be different. Present budget formulas provide fairly standard money allotments based on student-head-count or student-credit-hours. This approach, however, does not fully recognize the heavy requirements for more flexible instructional arrangements, the heavy demand for special counseling and tutoring, and the more expensive staffing costs associated with individualized teaching. Continued efforts, therefore, are needed to identify special needs and effective ways to rationalize "unusual" budgeting procedures.

Not only is it important that different budgetary approaches be applied to inner-city campuses, but it is equally necessary that these new procedures and the added costs be justified to other campuses within urban multi-unit districts. During financially austere times, it is to be expected that each campus or academic unit will assiduously protect and defend its share of the budget. The added expense of an inner-city campus and the extra costs of special developmental programs are generally not fully understood or accepted by other campuses within a multi-unit district.

A few educators and researchers are increasingly questioning the construction of expensive and imposing new edifices for inner-city campuses. Alternative plans, such as the "non-campus," are receiving wider attention. Advocates of the non-campus approach stress both the desirability of establishing many sidewalk sites in a downtown area, and the importance of maintaining close college-community linkages through the sharing of existing buildings. College classes and laboratories might both share space with existing businesses in the same building, and through this proximity, come to know and understand one another better. Hopefully, too, greater educational gains are made possible by purposefully mixing classroom and work experiences.

Most educators and administrators, however, have followed the traditional route of obtaining a site and constructing buildings

which, when completed, are identifiable structures. Several major advantages are usually cited for a modern new plant: A structure confined to a single campus site makes it more possible to control the flow of people on and off campus and the kinds of activities that take place on it; the building of a fine campus is a primary psychological boost to city pride; and a campus is a place students can identify with, at which they can meet friends, and engage in pleasurable activities. Numerous persons interviewed in this study also stressed what they considered a significant feature—that students can have the experience of being in a clean, neat, and warm building. To a student from a tough ghetto situation, this may indeed be an important and attracting feature. In any case, this particular dilemma of how to allocate money grows with reference to the needs of the downtown campus: Should it be spent for facilities, or for educational programs? And certainly the problem is exacerbated in the present era of economic restrictiveness and accountability.

Some fundamental directions must be taken very soon to overcome the financial impediments discussed above. Steps which could be followed effectively toward this end are:

1. The general level of state and federal financial support for urban community college districts must be substantially increased, with fewer restrictions placed on the types of educational programs and/or services rendered. Major sums are immediately needed for institutional operating expenses, student financial assistance programs, and instructional equipment and materials.

2. New budget procedures must be developed for the inner-city campus. Standardized district formulas do not adequately meet the financial needs of this type of institution. In developing and evaluating budgets for the downtown campus, major consideration must be given to the unique missions and roles of this institution.

3. General budget priorities of urban districts should be carefully analyzed with a view toward an eventual redirection of some capital funds into operating budgets.

4. District staff must be able to justify to the other academic units and any other concerned bodies in the district the

special procedures followed in developing the budget for the inner-city campus.

5. Inner-city campuses must be prepared to respond to increasing local community and district office pressures to be "accountable" for their programs and finances. This will include both a description of present accomplishments and failings, as well as an explanation of program expenditures.

6. During the budgetary "crunch," district staff should give serious thought to first cutting "traditional" rather than "nontraditional" programs. This would mean that new and special programs for increasingly diverse student clientele would receive preferential treatment in comparison to older, more routine campus programs, such as transfer and liberal arts programs.

CONTROL

The third and last major issue confronting urban community colleges is the struggle for power over the affairs of this institution. No immediate resolution of these struggles is evident. At this point, three groups are the most active participants in the struggle.

First in the arena is the district board and its staff. Legally established as the governing body, district boards and staffs logically assume that their influence will be considerable, and that they stand as the accountable entity to higher authorities. But the position of near-absolute power of district boards is increasingly under attack from two directions—local groups and faculty unions. Thus far, the issue of local control is not nationwide, but is confined mainly to a few urban centers where ethnic and minority groups have expressed strong interest and been persistently involved in college activities. These groups work in a variety of informal and formal ways to influence personnel selection, campus location, curricular offerings, and student financial aid. Since inner-city campuses potentially touch so many aspects of their surrounding community, they will probably always be more affected by local groups than campuses in the suburbs and the country.

The challenge of the faculty unions to district power emerges from the broadening of their concerns to include "conditions of employment" like class size, teaching load, hours spent on campus, and procedures for promotion, as well as districtwide matters such as the selection of district staff and the degree of district authority over program decisions.

The outcomes of these political struggles will very likely have a powerful impact on the shape of future MUD structures, as well as on the effectiveness of urban community colleges to serve their special clientele.

The issues about control of inner-city colleges lead to the following list of proposals for action:

1. Adaptiveness must become the key feature of future control structures for urban multi-unit community college districts. This is a highly rational response at a time when urban environments are becoming more interdependent than competitive, more turbulent and uncertain than stable and certain, populated increasingly by large-scale rather than small-scale enterprises, and complex and multi-unit rather than simple and single-unit.

2. Participation must be consistently encouraged, it being an effective means by which to involve many persons and groups, representing diverse values and views, in the deliberation and development of district and campus policies.

3. Effective structures of participation must be built with a diversity of specialists, each bringing a somewhat different point of view and skill to the problem-solving process.

4. Since problems and circumstances shift in times of rapid change, structures of control and participation must be temporary in nature. Task forces appointed to work on district and campus problems can be disbanded once effective solutions are reached. Customary bureaucratic arrangements with elaborate structures and weighty rulebooks must be avoided in the urban district setting.

5. District staff and policy should function primarily as coordinators rather than controllers of districtwide activities and

processes. As concerns coordination, the essential powers the district office should have include engagement in continuous planning; acquisition of information from all academic units; review and approval of new and existing degree programs, new campuses, extension centers, and departments; and review of all facets of both operating and capital budgets for the whole district before making recommendations about them.

CONCLUSION

The differing functions of the inner-city community college increasingly provide a measure for the adaptiveness of the MUD structure. The adaptive response will be increasingly tested in the constantly changing dynamics of the urban setting, with its population shifts and the emergence of new ghetto communities. The widening diversity of human needs requires a greater range and depth of service by public institutions, and it is in this area that the public two-year college will meet the greatest test of its promise of equal educational opportunity for all. Its organizational vitality will be the key to this test.

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